



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600052663S



Authors desirous of publishing will find JAMES MADDEN at all times ready to give them estimates and advice upon all matters relating to paper and print.

Now ready, in One Volume, crown 8vo, 250 pp.,

Turkish Grammar, Reading Lessons, and Vocabulary. By WILLIAM BURCKHARDT BARKER, Esq., M.R.A.S., Oriental Interpreter, Professor of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Hindostanee at Eton College, and Author of "Lares and Penates," etc. etc.

Now ready, the Second Edition, price 7s. 6d.,

The Thistle and the Cedar of Lebanon. By HABEEB RISK ALLAH, EFFENDI.

"One of the most delightful books on the East that we have read."
Standard.

In One Volume, crown 8vo, price 1s.; or, by post, 1s. 6d.,

Russia: A Historical Review of the Reign of the Emperor Nicholas the First. By PROFESSOR USTRIALOFF.

"We recommend our readers to buy this shilling work, in order to learn how the Emperor is driven mad by the adulation of his ignorant foolish people."—*Examiner.*

In Three Volumes, 8vo, £3 7s.,

Bopp's Comparative Grammar. Translated by PROFESSOR EASTWICK, and Edited by PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON. The Second Edition of Vol. I. is now ready, and may be had separately.

"Bopp has created a new epoch in the science of Comparative Philology."
Edinburgh Review.

What to Observe; or, the Traveller's Remembrancer. By Colonel J. R. JACKSON, F.R.S. Second Edition. Thick 12mo, 12s.

"No young man, or old, should leave the country without possessing himself of this work. It should be in the trunk of every traveller."—*Westminster Review.*

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

James Madden's Publications.

Ancient and Modern India ; being a popular

History from the Earliest Period down to the Present Year. By the late Dr. W. COOKE TAYLOR. This edition is edited and continued by P. J. MACKENNA, Esq., many years resident in India. Second Edition. Entirely revised, and brought down to the present day, including matter never before published, selected by permission of the Hon. Court of Directors from original documents. One volume, 650 pages, with a copious Index, 12s.

"It is cheap, concise, and clearly and carefully written. It contains everything which the general reader need seek to know; and is, besides, a good book for those who design to penetrate more deeply into the subject, to begin with."—*Morning Herald*.

The Oriental Album—The Valley of the

Nile, consisting of a Series of Drawings of the Costumes of Egypt and the Red Sea, with Letter-press description, beautifully illustrated with Wood Engravings, and printed on the finest paper, corresponding in size with the Mounted Plates, so that the whole may be bound in one splendid volume. Thirty-one Plates, mounted on card-board, and coloured equal to the most highly finished water-colour drawing, and executed by the first artists of Paris, in portfolio. Published at 15*l.* 15*s.*, now reduced to 10*l.* 10*s.* An inspection of this work is respectfully solicited. Another edition, at 2*l.* 15*s.* and 4*l.* 4*s.*

The Revelations of an Orderly, Being an

Attempt to Expose the Abuses of Administration by the Revelation of Every-day Occurrences in the Mofussil Courts of India. By PANCHKOURÉE KHAN. The Author is one of the Magistrates of Benares, of more than twenty years' standing. One volume, post 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Recollections of Scenes and Institutions in

Italy and the East. By JOSEPH BELDAM, Esq., F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law. Two volumes, 8vo, 24*s.*

Ancient Egypt ; her Monuments, Hieroglyphics, History, and Archæology, and other subjects connected with Hieroglyphical Literature.

By GEORGE GLIDDON, late U. S. Consul at Cairo. Nearly 20,000 copies of this work have been sold in America. Small folio, containing as much matter as an ordinary sized 8vo vol., with nearly 100 Woodcuts, 2*s.*

Professor H. H. Wilson's Sanscrit Grammar.

New Edition. 8vo, 18*s.*

A Chinese Manual. Recueil de Phrases Chi-

noises Composées de Quatre Caractères et dont Explications sont rangés dans l'ordre Alphabétique Français. Just Published, in small folio, 12*s.*

ISLAMISM:

ITS RISE AND ITS PROGRESS.

OR,

The Present and Past Condition of the Turks.

BY

F. A. NEALE,

AUTHOR OF "EIGHT YEARS IN SYRIA."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Volume II.



LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1854.

246. b. 90.

LONDON :
REED AND PARDON, PRINTERS,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
State of Northern Africa—Algiers taken by the French— State of Egypt—The crusaders—Noureddin—Saladin—His successes—Richard Cœur de Lion—Anecdote—Humanity of Saladin—Remarks on the crusades—Peter the Hermit —Character of Saladin	1

CHAPTER II.

Origin of the crusades—Arrogance of the Romish priests— Father Charles—Pilgrims of the present day—Hospitality of the Turks—Disorderly habits of the pilgrims—Prudence of some of them—Artisans in the East—Professional pilgrims—Their habits—Abuse of hospitality—Its effects— Insolence of the pilgrims	8
---	---

CHAPTER III.

Syrian manners—Anecdote—The mendicant's defence—The cadi's decision—The British merchant and the Turk—The crusaders—Urban II.—The first crusade—The Emperor Alexius Comnenus—Destruction of Peter the Hermit and his troops—The second crusade—Jerusalem taken—Divi- sion of Palestine	16
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

The Knights Templars and Hospitallers—Defeat of the cru- saders—The third crusade—Treaty with Saladin—Bald- win of Flanders—Invasion of Genghis Khan—Louis the Ninth—His defeat and death—Failure of the crusaders— Remarks of Lord Woodhouselee—Venice—Rise of the middle classes in England—Alarm of the barons—"The statute of great men"—Progress of England—Laws of chivalry—Female influence—Knightly honour	23
---	----

CHAPTER V.

	PAGE
Character of Saladin—His simplicity—His temperance— Genghis Khan—Origin of the Mamelukes—State of Egypt —Selim the Second—His government—Division of Egypt —Remarks of Volney and Savary—Opinion of Mills—Pur- chase of slaves—Circassian slaves—Their treatment . . .	33

CHAPTER VI.

Islamism in India—The Pasha of Khorassan—Sabactazan— His death—Conquests of Mahmoud—The Pagoda of Sum- naut—Description of it—Slaughter of the Brahmins— Splendour of the temple—Destruction of the idol—Its im- mense wealth	43
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

Cruelty of Mahmoud—His avarice—His death—Succeeded by Masoud—Benares taken—The Affghan dynasty—Inva- sion of Tamerlane—Sufferings of his troops—Mountain perils—Progress of Tamerlane—He massacres his prisoners —Capture of Delhi—Slaughter of the Gentoos—Chizee— Belloni—The Emperor of Hindostan	51
---	----

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of Ackbar Khan—His toleration—Aureng Zib— Major Rennell's opinion of him—Decline of the Mogul empire—Nadir Shah—Massacre at Delhi—Rise of British power in India—The Abasside dynasty—Decline of Mos- lem power—Capture of Baghdad—Selim—Fall of the Saracen empire—Its former magnificence—Splendid artifi- cial tree	59
--	----

CHAPTER IX.

The Sultan Aladdin—Othman—The Greek Emperor Palæolo- gus—Othman's successes—Brusa taken—The Moslem army—Further conquests—Amurath the First—His mili- tary successes—The vizier's advice—Origin of the janis- saries—Their formidable character—Battle of Cassova— Death of Amurath—His character—Bajazet the First— Pope Alexander the Sixth	68
---	----

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Bajazet—Invasion of Hungary—Battle of Nicopolis —Illness of Bajazet—Palæologus pays tribute—Civil dis-
--

	PAGE
cord—Mahomed the Second—Constantinople—Its importance—Ceremony of dedication—Improvement of the city—Councils held there—Dandelo the Blind—The Emperor Michael Palæologus—Battle of Varna	75

CHAPTER XI.

Mahomed the Second—Siege of Constantinople—Giustiniani—Embassy to Pope Nicholas—Dissensions—Brave defence of Constantinople—Stratagem of Mahomed	83
--	----

CHAPTER XII.

Dismay of the Christians—Constantine's address to his soldiers—Their heroic determination—General attack—Death of Constantine Palæologus—Fall of Constantinople—Ferocity of the victors—Remarks—Modern discoveries—Progress of civilization—Decline of Brusa and Adrianople—Misgovernment of the sultan—Oppression of the ryahs	88
---	----

CHAPTER XIII.

Stamboul—Achmet the First—Description of the city—The Talismanni—Sancta Sophia—Its magnificence—Number of mosques—The seraglio—Its great extent—Stately mausoleums—The Janicula—The Emperor Valentinian's aqueduct	95
--	----

CHAPTER XIV.

Mahomed the Second—Bajazet the Second—His pilgrimage to Mecca—Corcud—Return of Bajazet—His military successes—Tarsus taken—War with Egypt—Naval victory—Successes in Asia—Attack on Mitylene—"Sheitan Culy"—Civil discord—Battle of Charlo—Ahmed refuses the crown—Treachery of the janissaries	103
---	-----

CHAPTER XV.

Caution of Selim—Message of Bajazet—Selim's reply—Its plausibility—Bajazet's dream—His abdication—He is poisoned—Ahmed disputes the throne—He is defeated and strangled—Corcud defeated—His execution—Invasion of Persia—Council of War—The Defterdar's opinion—Battle with the Persians	111
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

	PAGE
Great victory over the Persians—Plunder of the Persian camp—Surrender of Tybris—Captives sent to Constantinople—Further successes—The Kara Mid—Their stragem—Message to the Sultan—Treaty with the Sultan—His letter—Strange omen—The Persians routed—Surrender of Mardun and Musul	119

CHAPTER XVII.

Invasion of Syria—Quarrel with the Sultan of Egypt—Battle of Aleppo—Defeat of the Egyptians—Surrender of Aleppo—Damascus—Monument to Musa—Court etiquette—March of the Turks—Cruelty at Gaza—Triumphant return—Death of Selim—Insurrection in Syria—Siege of Aleppo—The insurgents defeated	126
---	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

Invasion of Hungary—Military successes—Turkish treachery—Siege of Rhodes—Mustapha—His ambitious scheme—Is taken and executed—Second attack on Hungary—Defeat and death of the King of Hungary—Cabyzi Ajam—His execution—Slaughter of the Albanians—Outrage at Aleppo	134
--	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

Capture of Buda—Embassy from Moldavia—Siege of Vienna—The Turks repulsed—Inundation—Retreat of Solyman—Story of the Jewess—War in the Morea—Van taken—Capture of Baghdad—Execution of the Defterdar—Naval successes—Attack on Corfu—Moldavia ravaged—Tyranny of Solyman	141
---	-----

CHAPTER XX.

War with the Germans—Solyman's great power—His death—Succeeded by Selim the Second—Expedition to Caffa—Revolt in Yemen—Great fire at Constantinople—Attack on Cyprus—Nicosia—Its great strength—Siege and capture of the city—Conquest of Cyprus—Defeat of the Turkish fleet	149
--	-----

CHAPTER XXI.

The Sultan's grief—Naval engagement—Attack on Messina—Tunis taken and recaptured—Magnificent bath—Death	
---	--

	PAGE
of Selim the Second—Succeeded by Murad the Third— Victory over the Persians—The apostate—Severe winter— Obstinate battle with the Persians—Rebellion suppressed —Persian embassy—Military operations—Negligence of the Persians	156

CHAPTER XXII.

Peace with Persia—Insurrection of the janissaries—Death of Murad—Mahomet the Third—Expedition to Hungary —Death of Mahomet—Ahmed the First—Civil war—State of Marash—War with Persia—Mehemet Pasha—Halil Pasha—Death of Ahmed—Osman the Second—His cha- racter—He is murdered—Murad the Fourth	163
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Pasha of Erzeroum—Siege of Baghdad—Its failure— Attack on Erzeroum—Total defeat of the Turks—Khosru Pasha—Erzeroum taken—The Sultan's clemency—Khosru Pasha marches on Baghdad—Is obliged to raise the siege —Rustum Khan—Defeat of the Persians—Attack on Poland—Treaty of peace—The Sultan a drunkard—Anec- dote—The Sultan's excesses	171
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

Death of Murad—Ibrahim the First—The pirates destroyed —Crete—Attack on Crete—Conquest of it—Description of the island—Incidents of Mahometan history—Settle- ment in Crete—The Greek Emperor Michael—Nicephorus Phocas—Alexius—Flight of the Emperor—Death of Ibra- him—Succeeded by Mahomet the Fourth—Military op- erations—Expedition to Candia—Obstinate defence	178
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

Surrender of Candia—Treaty of peace—The Hetman of the Cossacks—War with Russia—The Russians victorious —The Czar's letter—Council of war—Incidents of the campaign—Defeat of the Turks—Capture of Chehren— Emeric Tekeli—War with Germany—Negotiations broken off—March of the vizier—Council of war	186
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

Speech of Count Tekeli—European affairs—Vienna—Its importance—Tekeli's advice—Confusion at Vienna—The	
--	--

	PAGE
vizier marches upon the city—General assault—Negligence of the vizier—Alarm of Leopold—Defeat of the Turks—Siege of Vienna raised—Destruction of the Turkish army	195

CHAPTER XXVII.

The vizier executed—Breach with the Venetians—Declaration of war—Military operations—Misfortunes of the Turks—Death of Mahomet—Succeeded by Solyman the Second—Revolt of the janissaries—Civil discord—Surrender of Cassovia—Secret embassy—Siege and surrender of Belgrade—Peter the Great—Mutiny in the Russian army—Death of Solyman—Ahmed the Second—The vizier's popularity	204
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Plot against the vizier—Embassy from England—March of the Turkish army—Death of the vizier and rout of his army—Capture of Garbusa—Negotiations for peace—Reception of ambassadors—Popularity of Lord de Redcliffe—The war renewed—Surrender of Scio—Death of Ahmed—Mustapha the Second—Death of John Sobieski—Disasters of the Turks—Treaty of peace	213
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

Discontents at Constantinople—Insurrection—Attack on Adrianople—Desertion of the sultan's troops—Abdication of Mustapha—His death—Ahmed the Third—The rebels punished—The vizier banished—Charles the Twelfth and Stanislaus—Battle of Pultawa—The Russian ambassador imprisoned—Battle of Peterwaradin—Intrigues in Moldavia—Great victory of the Russians	221
---	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

Retrospect of Turkish history—Mahmoud the Fifth—His character—His death—Osman the Third—Mustapha the Third—Disastrous war with Russia—Death of Mustapha—Abdul Hamyd—His wise government—His death—Selim the Third—Buonaparte—Massacre at Jaffa—Revolution at Constantinople—Selim deposed—He is murdered—Mustapha the Fourth—Deposed by Bairactar—Mahmoud the Sixth—Revolt of the janissaries—Death of Bairactar—War with Russia—Mehemet Ali—His vigorous government—Massacre of the mamelukes—Battle of	
--	--

	PAGE
Navarino—Invasion of Syria—Defeat of the Turks—Interference of Russia—Successes of Ibrahim Pasha—Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi—Oppression of Syria . . .	232

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Greek war—Death of the Emperor Alexander—Accession of Nicholas—Invasion of Servia—The Duke of Wellington—Treaty with Russia—Insubordination of the janissaries—The Sultan resolves on their destruction—Insurrection—Demands of the janissaries—The Sultan assembles his troops—Attack on the janissaries—Their destruction—War in the Morea—War with Russia—Capture of Varna—Treaty—Greece independent—Otho elected king—Death of Mahmoud . . .	243
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

Accession of Abdul Medjid—His toleration—Insubordination of the beys—Present state of Turkey—The sultan's firman—Liberality to the Jews—Defeat of Ibrahim Pasha—His oppression of Syria—Ignorance of the people—Anecdote—Alexandretta—The scribe—Antipathy to writing . . .	252
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Revolution in Hungary—Generosity of the Sultan—Disputes with Russia—Cause of the present war—Prince Menschikoff—His arrogance—Russian occupation of the Principalities—The Sultan declares war—Interference of England and France—Declaration of war—Lord de Redcliffe's circular	262
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Sultan Mahmoud—His character—The slave-markets—Female slaves—Discountenanced by the sultan—Beauty of the slaves—Their treatment—French proverb—Secrecy of the harem—Mahmoud's decree—Greek renegadoes—The Mutzellims—The Sultan's conduct—The Greeks—Change in Mahmoud's character—Turkish customs—Use of chairs and tables—The Turkish army—Want of discipline—The officers—Mahmoud's reforms—Turkish prejudices—Their indolence—Turkish gazette—The press—The "Tatler of Events"—Its popularity—Turkish curiosity—Supposed designs of the English—The British lion in his den—Portraits and portrait-painters—School of Surgery—Lunatic asylums—Reforms projected . . .	269
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

	PAGE
Abdul Medjid and his Reforms—The existing state of affairs	
—Sir Charles Napier—Druses and Maronites—"Protection"—Consular Service—Bribery—Privilege—The Merchant's Warehouseman—Massacre at Aleppo—Conclusion	304

CHAPTER I.

State of Northern Africa—Algiers taken by the French—State of Egypt—The crusaders—Noureddin—Saladin—His successes—Richard Cœur de Lion—Anecdote—Humanity of Saladin—Remarks on the crusades—Peter the Hermit—Character of Saladin.

FROM the period of Charles's unsuccessful invasion, scenes of horror and bloodshed fill the history of Northern Africa; and to peruse the fortunes of that wretched empire would be alike disheartening and unprofitable. The Barbary States of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, have been claimed by the successive sultans as fiefs of the Sublime Porte, and they are named among the titles of the grand seigniors. In reality, their thrones have been occupied by princes and usurpers of all races occupying Northern Africa. Turks, and Africans, and Moors, have governed in these unhappy countries, as they were enabled by force of arms, on the nomination of the sultans. In May, 1830, the French took possession of Algiers, deposing the last of the long list of deys, or governors, and declaring Algiers to be annexed as a colony to France—continued conflicts have subsequently taken place; and the Arabs of the surrounding country under Abdel-Kader have held continual conflicts with the French troops, who have also been frequently involved in hostilities

with the Emperor of Morocco. The final capture of Abdel-Kader may be considered a death-blow to the independence of the Arabs of this part of Africa ; and with him has set the latest star of that intrepid race of chieftains, too often the terror of surrounding nations, and who with varying success held the supreme power over the Algerine tribes. We now follow the rapidly retiring shadow of Saracenic greatness into Egypt—where the African caliphate had been established, as we have already seen. When Moez founded the Fatimite dynasty in Grand Cairo, even then their sway was widely extended—large tracts of Syria, and the whole of Palestine, were under their rule—but, as fortune favoured the ruling caliphs, alternately lost and won, as the fanatical crusaders from Europe and equally fanatical Turks became possessed and dispossessed of their territories. About this time, in the reign of Adhed, the last caliph descended from the illustrious house of Moez, the crusaders then prevailing in part of Syria extended their conquests into Egypt. Surrounded and menaced on all sides, he was compelled to purchase a dishonourable peace by the tribute of a million of dinars (about five hundred thousand pounds sterling). But when the time came for demanding its payment, and the European forces marched upon Cairo for its exaction, the inhabitants despatched envoys to Prince Nouredin, then lieutenant and minister of the ruling Caliph of Baghdad, imploring his assistance. This prince sent a powerful army, which saved them upon that occasion. It is said that Nouredin was a prince of most exemplary virtue—even his enemies speak in

his praise, for while calling him the greatest persecutor of the Christian faith, William of Tyre (vide lib. 20—33, in *Gestis Dei per Francos*), admits that he was a man of upright principles and great moral worth, and, according to the creed of his people, most religious. At this period the people of Egypt had become effeminate and enervated. The caliph himself was sunk in luxury and profligacy, and court favourites and parasites occupied themselves, unheeded and unforbidden, with state affairs. Their intrigues and corruptions involved the state in frequent disputes and civil discord, which gradually undermined the Egyptian throne: in many of these internal broils the weaker party had had recourse to the Caliph of Baghdad; and as these calls became frequent, the instability of the Egyptian government became known at Baghdad, and the caliph's ministers suggested its reannexation of Egypt. Two of his generals, Shiracouch and his nephew Saladin, or *Salah-deen* (literally *the prayer of faith*), men belonging to the pastoral tribes of the Kurds—a savage and rapacious people that inhabited the hilly regions behind the Tigris—entered Egypt at the head of a powerful army, and after many severe contests overcame both the Franks and the Egyptians. Soon after the Caliph Adhed, well termed *a venerable phantom of power*, expired; and Saladin and his uncle caused Mosthade, the thirty-third Caliph of Baghdad, to be proclaimed in the mosque at Grand Cairo, as the director of civil and ecclesiastical supremacy.

So long as Nouredin lived, the Kurds remained subject to the caliphate at Baghdad. On his death,

however, Saladin began to disencumber himself of the yoke; and by a series of wise and wary measures soon became absolute master of Egypt. From the Atabeks of Syria he succeeded in wresting two of their most important towns—Aleppo and Damascus; and in Arabia his sovereignty was speedily acknowledged, by his name being inserted in the public prayers at the mosques. From the Indian ocean to the mountains of Armenia, from Tripoli to the Tigris, his power was felt and his sway acknowledged. The battle of Hittan near Tiberias, and the siege of Jerusalem, made him dreaded by the Christian princes. Cœur de Lion alone had the high honour of wresting from him parts of the sea coast, and of utterly defeating him at Ascalon; but when Saladin died, the spirit of chivalry among the crusaders had declined, as well it might, after the series of misfortunes they had been exposed to by their long sufferings. The stoutest heart and bravest purpose might well be worn out; and it was small consolation to know that Saladin was dead, when he had left his empire, though shaken, far from being overturned. An anecdote, illustrative of the extreme simplicity of Saladin's uncle, is referred to by some writers on the East. When that prince was governing Syria for his master the Caliph of Baghdad, one of his favourite wives, supposing that the revenues of the state were at her husband's command, asked for some jewellery of exorbitant value. "Alas!" replied her simple-minded husband, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate; but I still pos-

sess three shops in the city of Hems. These you may take, and these alone can I bestow."

While vanquished armies are a perpetual record of his military talents, even the most prejudiced bigoted Catholic historians acknowledge his personal merits. When Jerusalem surrendered to his arms, Saladin gave permission to the knights of that city to attend their sick in the hospitals, though some were at that moment in arms and fighting against him. When the whole Christian population were involved in one public calamity, through his charitable interference a liberal distribution of alms alleviated much individual suffering; and, as the crowning act of his honesty of purpose and excellence of heart, he remitted a large portion of the ransom, stipulated with him for the safety of the city. A century before this, when the crusaders had captured Jerusalem, they had put every disciple of Islam within its walls to the sword; but Saladin refrained from retaliation, and left the vanquished Christians a temple for the performance of their devotions.

We pause, as we record these facts, to meditate upon the comparison which must have been drawn by the distant Eastern nations of the contending armies and people—the crusaders, with an army composed of the flower of European nobility and gentry; Saladin, the descendant of a rude shepherd-race amongst the Kurds. If anything could have promoted the cause of Islamism in India and Africa, and injured that of Christianity, it was this broad distinction of the contending sects; each of them zealots and fanatics, but the one openly

preaching and professing the doctrines of the Koran, and enforcing at the sword's point the creed of Mahomet, the other proclaiming the Gospel and peace, brandishing the scimitar before all mankind. In the East they have history traditional as well as written; and even at this day, when the professors of the true faith speak of humility and of peace, the Islam's finger points scornfully to that dark page whereon is traced the crusaders' massacre at Jerusalem. The most charitable excuse of this misguided fervour, is the ignorance of those early and uneducated bigots, their moral and spiritual subjugation beneath the Pope—him who, arrogating to himself the attributes of a heavenly Master, subverted the real principles of Christianity, and substituted an imposition even yet more gross and more mischievous than that of his fellow-impostor, Mahomet. There was a charm in the exhortations of that furious man, Peter the Hermit—an awakening of the dormant energies of Europe, possessing the attraction of novelty, and under the papal sanction holding out so many persuasive privileges, both in this world and in that to come, and in nowise falling short of those preached by the muftis in Arabia and Syria. But when these excitements to rapine and ruin, these allurements of earthly gratification and of heavenly bliss were first sounded over the Christian world by the warlike hermit, they were but a weary repetition in the ears of Saladin. The great fervour of Islamism had ceased to influence the greater number of the "true believers," and continued its sway over few, excepting only the obstinate zealots or the ignorant peasantry. The intel-

lect of Saladin had been improved by experience. His intercourse with other courts had expanded his mind; while his long acquaintance with war had rendered his naturally kind spirit more sensible to its cruel consequences. His name is held up as an example to all warriors, of all creeds, by almost every historian who has recorded his exploits. We shall now take a brief and rapid survey of the leading circumstances attendant upon the several crusades, ere we return to Egypt and her dynasties.

CHAPTER II.

Origin of the crusades—Arrogance of the Romish priests—Father Charles—Pilgrims of the present day—Hospitality of the Turks—Disorderly habits of the pilgrims—Prudence of some of them—Artisans in the East—Professional pilgrims—Their habits—Abuse of hospitality—Its effects—Insolence of the pilgrims.

TOWARDS the close of the eleventh century, when Arabia Persia and a greater portion of Asia Minor were governed by Mahometans, the Christian enthusiasm, owing to actual or imaginary insults heaped upon hordes of devotees who were annually flocking to worship at the shrine at the Holy City, was first kindled in Europe; Palestine had remained in possession of the Islams since the 657th year of the Christian era; and her ancient capital, Jerusalem, though greatly fallen from her primitive glory by reason of the many unhappy vicissitudes which she had undergone, still remained an object of affectionate veneration to her Mahometan occupants, as containing the relics of their ancestors; and to strangers, who from all parts of their vast empire repaired thither to the mosque of Omar, even as Christians, in a higher and holier reverence, still repair to that ancient city. The standard of fanaticism was first raised by a Frenchman, Peter the Hermit, who, on his return home, complained loudly of the

ill-treatment experienced by the Christian pilgrims from the Moslems, through whose territories they were obliged to pass. However just the cause of complaint may have been, there is little doubt that this ill-treatment may have been mainly attributable to the obnoxious demeanour of priests and other pilgrims, who were permitted to visit the shrine of their adoration in cities and lands occupied by an alien people, opposed to their manners and habits, and above all differing in their religion. It was not likely that the poorer and uneducated Moslems would brook any arrogance in strangers whose visit purported to be one of humility and self-chastisement; neither is it probable that in that age of arrogance among the Catholic priesthood this would be restrained by the greater number of the laity, who undertook long and perilous journeys for the object of prostrating themselves before shrines and images. What their attitude and conduct must have been, can be easily conceived by those who, like myself, have dwelt long in Syria and Palestine, and consequently been brought into daily communication with the Romish priests, that literally swarm in those countries, from Italy, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere. Many of these priests are political refugees—some are said to be refugees of a darker caste—and the greater mass of them barely able to read or to write their own name. They have been brought up in ignorance and superstition, and taught to hold in scorn and abhorrence every other creed than their own; but, above all, to detest a Turk—the subject of the sovereign ruling over that country where they themselves are strangers;

fugitives, perhaps, from their home, yet abroad permitted and protected. Instructed by their shorn brethren to doff their pretended humility and assume extreme rigour and haughtiness—"There is nothing to fear," say they; "we are under the protection of France and other Catholic countries, who possess high influence at the Sublime Porte, and are strong in ambassadors and consuls. Be as insolent as you choose; you may even inflict a little wholesome chastisement upon some saucy unbeliever; which if he dare to resent, complain to your consul—he has the priests' cause at heart, and he, or his ambassador if needs must, will force the pasha of the district to bastinado the offender soundly." Such is the position of the greater number of Roman Catholic priests at this day ranging over the Mahometan soil. That among them are men of sound principle and cultivated mind, I am far from questioning;—men who have chosen the cowl, not to avoid punishment for offences at home, nor to escape the burthen of honest toil; but, having with all sincerity of heart devoted their lives to the spiritual and temporal good of their fellow-beings, with all due and true humility fulfil their vocation. Such a man was the priest who spent a lifetime in toil to erect the magnificent Hospice to this day existing on the top of Mount Carmel, and such a man is the present Padre Presidente, Father Charles. These men, and men like these, have really done service; they have been good Samaritans to the sick of all creeds; pouring balm into their wounds, feeding and clothing the poor and hungry, sheltering the destitute and weary

wayfarer, establishing schools and raising the natives high above the level of Arab superstition ; but men like these are, alas ! rare, indeed ; the greater number are such as I have already described—and if this is the case in our own enlightened days, what was to have been expected in the darker ages ?

This argument is, perhaps, even better illustrated by the lay pilgrims who at this day journey, staff in hand, from central Germany and other parts of Europe, mostly over land, till they reach the Holy City. These travellers subsist upon the simple and precarious charities of the villages and towns through which they pass ; but, no sooner have they reached Constantinople than their wants are abundantly supplied by the natives, who almost invariably send them onward with a gift of money or a day's stock of provisions. Now, as most of these pilgrims have been brought up to trades and occupations generally useless in Turkey, it is probable that they originally quitted their native country to perform a religious duty, as they have been taught by their priests to account it ; but, when they get to Jerusalem their devotion evaporates—they encounter wanderers from all parts of Europe, bent on like purpose with themselves ; and they fall gradually, but surely, into the vices of their old and practised companions. They find living so cheap in the East—charity so ready—that a love of idleness steals over them, extinguishing all integrity and self-respect, till, finally, they sink into a state of most deplorable vagabondage. With these, as with the priests, there are exceptions—men who have families and other

ties at home, from which they are not to be so easily severed—men of honest principle, who accept of charity only as long as it is a pilgrim's unfortunate necessity; but who, so soon as they have discharged their burthen of religious duty at the shrine to which they have desired to go, hasten homeward with a lighter heart, and, perhaps an easier conscience. Then, again, there are others—expert tradesmen, such as I have met in Aleppo, Damascus, and other large towns in Turkey and Syria; these are endowed with greater intellect than many of their brother pilgrims; and, having made good use of their eyes and ears in the countries they have passed through, they at once perceive the advantages derivable in Turkey, from the cheapness of the country and its almost total lack of artisans such as themselves; and having been wise enough to bring with them the requisites of their trade, they turn it to account in the places through which they travel, earning a sufficiency to carry them over many a weary mile. This is particularly the case with shoemakers and carpenters, whose trades are much needed in the East, and which, if conducted with prudence and sobriety, unfailingly prosperous. I know of several instances of carpenters bootmakers and tailors in Syria, who originally emigrated as pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre: these men have by a few years' rigid economy accumulated absolute fortunes for that country, and sent for their families to join them; some of them perhaps who, not many years since were without a shilling, have purchased houses and gardens, and keep their horses and servants. These are the few, but peculiar exceptions to the shoals of pilgrims that every year pour into Jerusalem; but they have been men of

resolved mind—men, whom nothing could draw from the right course, who have laboured night and day to overcome apparently insuperable difficulties, and now reap the reward of their honesty and diligence. There are professional pilgrims in Syria, whom at length we detected; fellows who had changed their homes ten or a dozen times, and who had, yearly at first, then half-yearly, and at last monthly, established a mendicant circuit; till their advent was periodically expected by the European residents in Syria, and they were familiarly termed the German packet boats. Scores of them fix their head-quarters between Jerusalem and the holy cities, others make a wider circuit from Damascus and Aleppo, and others penetrate into Egypt, Asia Minor, and Turkey in Europe; and so well arranged are their different circuits, that hardly a village escapes them. They usually travel in parties of three or four, and their passports contain as many signatures as a Chartist petition. I presume, although I was never able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on this head, that the whole of this begging troop is under the command of a generalissimo, perhaps a Russian spy, who directs their movements, divides their several circuits, and appoints a rendezvous about every third year during the observance of Easter, at Jerusalem. Then they have a regular jubilee—whole casks full of wine and *aqua vite* are discussed; regiments of fat pullets trussed up, fields of cabbages turned into *sauer kraut*, and, in the throng of multitudes that rush into the Holy Sepulchre, our vagrant host gather a rich harvest. When not at Jerusalem in Easter-time, Constantinople Smyrna and Alexandria are their

favourite resorts. In every low *café* they are to be encountered, guzzling down wine and spirits, inhaling thick volumes of smoke, and rioting the night through. When on their circuit, they regularly avail themselves of the charitable rule established at the convents, which obliges the monks to afford shelter to wayfarers for three days and three nights, and longer should ill-health require. Here they feast abundantly—attend mass regularly, and repose comfortably in their cells or under the trees in the convent gardens, secure of sleep and food for three days to come. It is a pity almost that, at the various convents, a line of distinction cannot be drawn between really necessitous travellers and those vagrants who display, under their beggarly tatters limbs and complexions of unmistakeable independence; but this is not the least evil influence practised by these modern crusaders upon the social condition of the countries about Jerusalem Damascus and Aleppo. From the days of the patriarch Abraham down to the present time, charity and hospitality have been nobly conspicuous in the natives of Palestine and Syria; but, since these nuisances have come among them, most unwillingly have hospitable villages been constrained to restrict themselves in welcoming the weary guest; but they are unable to distinguish between Frank and Frank—with them a term especially inclusive, comprehending all sects and creeds—moreover, they are possessed of a strange notion that all Franks must be immensely wealthy and independent. Their own poor garments are so scant and ill-assorted that they are seldom likely to criticise the appearance of the wayfarer; the more especially as the wealthy and noble oftentimes tra-

vel through Syria, very mendicants in costume, in comparison with their Dragomans and the other servants in their suites. The peasantry look upon all Franks as of one creed and nation. When these vagrants went to their huts, year after year and month after month, they were welcomed with unrestrained hospitality and dismissed with such gifts as the donor could bestow. This continued so long as these vagabond pilgrims observed the boundaries of common honesty and civility; but, as they grew familiarized with vice, so they victimized their entertainers. Having acquired the language, they disputed with them, abused their religion; secretly and at night robbed them, and, lastly, in small and isolated villages, where they purposely arrived at late hours and in gangs, travelling within a space of certain miles between them, they insulted the women of the houses that fed and sheltered them. However spirit-broken, however serf-like a Syrian peasant may be, this is a point when insolence can be no longer endured. The result was, a general rise in the village—the massacre of some—the flight of the rest. This has more than once occurred; but mark the consequences! The pilgrims have made themselves out to be the injured parties, the insulted villagers the aggressors. Priestly influence has been brought to bear against them. Consuls have been appealed to—ambassadors supplicated—and these unhappy villagers have been heavily mulcted or bastinadoed for not tamely submitting to the grossest insults.

CHAPTER III.

Syrian manners — Anecdote — The mendicant's defence — The cadi's decision — The British merchant and the Turk — The crusaders — Urban II. — The first crusade — The Emperor Alexius Comnenus — Destruction of Peter the Hermit and his troops — The second crusade — Jerusalem taken — Division of Palestine.

HAVING long received the gratuitous charity and hospitality of all classes within the Ottoman sway, our pilgrim mendicants began to consider it, by precedence and long usage, their positive right and not a favour, to be humbly solicited or thankfully accepted, but an inherent and absolute privilege. No longer these pilgrim mendicants paused on the outskirts of villages, or waited at the bottom of avenues till their emissaries had procured them a night's lodging and necessary food—they marched boldly into the heart of a private family, preferred and obtained their demand; such being the Syrian usage, strange as it may appear to Europeans, so long as the request is preferred with ordinary civility.—But then the most exacting Aga in all Turkey never outraged the sacred laws of hospitality: these vagrants, however, in their growing insolence, imagined that the people in whose country they were sojourners were compelled to support them. I will mention an instance on record, which may

have acted as a stimulus to these shameless impostors—according to Turkish law usage is everything. There dwelt a wealthy citizen at Damascus, who was exceedingly devout and charitable; he opened his purse-strings freely for all classes of the poor—but he had chosen a select body of miserables—the halt, the blind, the infirm, and above all, one old fellow who passed his time in chanting the Koran. This was a sufficient recommendation to the rich and pious Islam—hence he never went out or returned without pausing to bestow a small silver coin upon this impostor, who in return sent him on laden with blessings. The merchant's affairs progressed (or retrogressed) from bad to worse, till at last he was obliged to shut up shop; and when he had settled with all his creditors, he found himself in his old age possessed of about sixpence a-day, besides a house and certain household furniture. Of course these misfortunes compelled him to retrench his expenditures, and amongst these his benevolence to the mendicants and their Koran-reader, who through a long series of years had looked upon the merchant as a fixed source of daily revenue. The former bore his misfortunes with praiseworthy fortitude; while the latter, finding it a hopeless affair, decamped for some equally profitable source of charity in some other quarter of the town. The more however the Koran-reader became importunate, the more the merchant pleaded poverty; till he was obliged to have the mendicant conveyed before the *cadi*. The fellow held a sort of sacred character amongst the Moslems, and this, of course, biassed the multitude in his favour: he had been,

he said, through long years accustomed to receive a settled daily stipend from the merchant ; which he looked upon, not in the light of a charity, but as a recompense to him for his exposing himself to the heat of summer and the cold of winter, for the purpose of praying under the open canopy of heaven through the twelve hours of the day for the health and welfare of his benefactor ; that moreover, having counted upon the merchant's honesty and charity as a certainty, and it being, in fact, equivalent to a fixed annual sum in the funds, he had only a week previously sold his occupation for his said prayers, and the stone he occupied, to some young but ardent follower of his office, who had paid him down a sum for its "goodwill," and was about to commence business in his old accustomed seat somewhere about that day fortnight. The defendant then enlarged upon the injustice of deceiving the poor young speculator, who was about to commence life, and upon his own conscientious objections to refunding so much as one para of the purchase-money ; and insisted on the contract whereby he was entitled during the life-time of the unhappy bankrupt to an income, payable daily by the said bankrupt for certain prayers to be said daily on the bankrupt's behalf ; cited the aforesaid Turkish principle and precedent, and prayed the *cadi* to give judgment in his favour. On the complainant's side, it was argued as, I suppose, every honest person would argue the like case ; but the *cadi* quoted largely from the Koran, censured the merchant for discontinuing what a long series of years had established as an obligation upon him, and adjudged the pay-

ment to be continued to the defendant so long as the complainant should be possessed of any property which would realize its amount. In strong contrast with this absurd case, was one within my own cognizance, which was adjudicated finally by the British Embassy in Turkey (and consequently in favour of reason and justice).—A British merchant at Aleppo had advanced a Mahometan merchant on his own bond a certain sum of money, repayable within a stipulated period; when the time arrived, the Turk with the greatest effrontery declared his intention of not repaying the amount. Expostulations and threats were equally fruitless; and when summoned before his own *cadi*, he without the slightest hesitation acknowledged the signature, but stated that at the moment of signing the bond he had inwardly sworn upon the Koran, that he did not intend what he was writing to be his signature, and that, moreover, he had taken an oath never to repay the money. With this assertion the Turkish judge was satisfied:—"You see," said he, to the astonished Englishman, "the man never intended to pay you, so this bond is but a piece of waste paper." From this monstrous decision the merchant appealed, and after much trouble obtained its reversal. The bond was repaid with full Turkish interest, the debtor publicly bastinadoed and imprisoned, and the *cadi*—as finished a Jesuit by-the-by as ever came out of the Vatican—displaced and banished for some years.

We may now return to the Hermit Peter and his crusaders; prepared to understand the merits and characters of those early fanatics, who, having no

consuls or ambassadors under whose authority they might display their arrogance, were obliged to seek assistance at home from the emperor and the pope, each unhappily too willing to listen to their complaints. Urban II. pitched upon Peter as a fit instrument in the execution of a long and fondly cherished plan for the utter extermination of the infidels then possessing the Holy Land. He accordingly issued a mandate, calling upon Christendom to send forth her best and bravest soldiers for the faith and the holy cross. The project was first embodied into a regular plan in the year 1095, at two general councils holden respectively at Placentia in Lombardy, and Clermont in Auvergne. At that period the French people had more religious enthusiasm than the Italians; the consequence was, that an immense and disorderly concourse of nobles with their followers flocked to the hermit's standard, and assumed the badge of the cross. All were eager for enterprise and plunder—all enthusiastic for the cause—and all assured that the future welfare of their souls was provided for. Peter marched towards the East with an undisciplined force of eighty thousand men. Such an irruption at any time would be fatal to the peace and security of the countries through which its large and lawless multitude proposed to march. On this occasion their progress was marked with rapine and hostility in every Christian country through which they moved. Many of them fell in forays and skirmishes with the people whose territories they had invaded, or sunk under malady and disease—while some, their zeal and courage being cooled down by the hardships

and sufferings of the enterprise, returned as best they could to their native soil. The army under the hermit had thus dwindled to twenty thousand souls ere they reached Constantinople. It was not without distrust that the Emperor Alexius Comnenus received these "defenders of the faith" which in common with other Christians he professed under the one Great Head and Saviour; but he had in some measure forestalled the evil by preparing his ships to transport them across the Bosphorus as soon as possible after their arrival. Yet during the short interval that this horde of ill-organized troops reposed within his territories, the crusaders, we are told, treated the emperor with the most provoking insolence. No sooner, however, had they reached the opposite shore, than they were encountered and entirely destroyed on the plains of Nice by Suliman, Sultan of Roum. Meanwhile, a less disorganized host marched forth, under the command of generals better qualified to lead troops into a battle-field than the fanatical hermit. This force, amounting to some six hundred thousand men, under Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond Count of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, son of William King of England, Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, the conqueror of Sicily, Hugh Count of Vermandois, Robert Count of Flanders, Stephen Count of Chartres, and other princes of high reputation, were received with courtesy and equal precaution by Alexius, who, as he had wisely done with the new Saint Peter, lost no time in disencumbering his territory of such an influx of hungry warriors. Overawed and overpowered by this multitude, the Turks

were twice signally defeated. Following up their advantage, the crusaders penetrated through Asia Minor, marched over the almost impregnable pass of Kulek Bogas, in the Taurus, entered Syria and Palestine, finally besieging Jerusalem, which after a six weeks' siege they took by storm; and when, as if to obliterate the glory of this achievement, they committed the shameful barbarism referred to in our records of Saladin—the massacre of the Mahometan and Jewish inhabitants found within the city. Godfrey was immediately after proclaimed King of Jerusalem, but the pope's legate soon after superseded him. Then came that early fault which by subsequent rivalries and petty jealousies weakened the Christian power in the East—the division of Syria and Palestine into four separate states; Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli, and Edepo beyond the Euphrates. Ere long the Christian states in Asia began to lose strength, and were compelled to crave assistance from Europe; whilst the Turks observing their retrograde march began to recover strength and courage.

CHAPTER IV.

The Knights Templars and Hospitallers—Defeat of the crusaders—The third crusade—Treaty with Saladin—Baldwin of Flanders—Invasion of Genghis Khan—Louis the Ninth—His defeat and death—Failure of the crusaders—Remarks of Lord Woodhouselee—Venice—Rise of the middle classes in England—Alarm of the barons—"The statute of great men"—Progress of England—Laws of chivalry—Female influence—Knightly honour.

IN this year the second crusade set out from the West, composed of French, Germans and Italians, to the amount of two hundred thousand men, and headed by Hugh, brother of Philip the First of France. These met the fate which had befallen their predecessors under the hermit. At this period the Christian power in Asia became so reduced, that it was found necessary to strengthen the garrison of Jerusalem by embodying and arming the monks for its defence: and hence originated the military orders of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, soon after augmented by the Teutonic from the German pilgrims. In the meanwhile Pope Eugene III. was again stirring up the spirit of ecclesiastical chivalry in the West, and employed St. Bernard to preach a new crusade to be led by Philip the First of France; who in conjunction with Conrad the Third of Germany assembled

three hundred thousand volunteers, part of whom were destroyed by the then Sultan of Koniah or Iconium, and the rest defeated near Laodicea in the following year. The two crowned heads, after many hair-breadth escapes succeeded in reaching their respective dominions, entering upon their territories with feelings very different from those with which they had only a short time previously quitted them at the head of a magnificent army. Clement III., wrathful at the success of the infidels, and desirous to revenge the loss of so many hundred thousand Christian knights and soldiers, again sounded the war-cry in Europe. The crusade was now preached in England as well as in France and Germany; and the armies of these countries, headed by their respective sovereigns, joined in this third crusade. The French were commanded by Philip Augustus — the Germans by Frederick the First (Barbarossa), and the English, by their renowned champion Richard Cœur de Lion, of all these three the only one who effected anything like a successful result; for Philip, jealous of his achievements, retired in disgust to France after the capture of Acre; while Frederick died in Asia, and his forces, after repeated defeats, dwindled into insignificance. Richard, unaided, sustained the combat with Saladin, signally defeating him near Ascalon; but his forces, unhabituated to the excessive heat of Southern Palestine, and worn out with fatigue and famine, were found unequal to the contest: so he was forced to sign an honourable treaty, and then, as best he might, return to his native shores. Pope Innocent the Third instigated a fourth crusade;

which was fitted out under Baldwin of Flanders, and which had for its object the destruction and extirpation of the Eastern empire. Constantinople, rent by civil tumult, fell an easy prey to the crusaders, and Baldwin was elected emperor—only, however, to enjoy his dignity for a very short period, being in a few months afterwards dethroned and cruelly put to death by the Bulgarians. Five Latin emperors had succeeded Baldwin, when in this year the Greeks retook Constantinople. The imperial dominions were then partitioned amongst the several chiefs of the victorious party; and the Venetians received, as their portion for aid and assistance in lending their ships, the Isle of Candia, or Crete. Alexius, of the house of the Comneni, founded a new sovereignty in Asia—the empire of Trebizond. In this long interval two more crusades—the fifth and sixth—had started from the West. The former was conducted by Andrew the Second of Hungary, which landed in Egypt on a fruitless expedition. The latter, under the Emperor Frederick II., was more fortunate, for it procured the restitution of Jerusalem and other cities from the Turks; but no enduring benefit was derived from this event;—the Christians in Asia being, when left to themselves, totally unable to defend them.

In this year the invasion of Genghis Khan, with his Tartars, put the skill and courage of the garrison of Jerusalem to a severe test. The Knights Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, made a gallant but ineffectual defence. These Tartar hordes swept everything before them, slaying indiscriminately Jew and Gentile, Christian and infidel. The whole of Pales-

tine would have been abandoned to these invaders had not the seventh and last crusade intervened. Louis the Ninth, or, as he is commonly termed, St. Louis, imagining himself under the divine protection, started, after a four years' preparation, accompanied by his queen, three brothers, and all the knights of France, for the Holy Land. His army commenced operations by a successful attack upon Egypt. For some time victory seemed to favour the new crusaders; but they, too, at length met their predecessors' fate—the king and two of his brothers being taken prisoners by the Turks. The saint purchased his liberty for 400,000 livres, and returning to France, reigned quietly for thirteen years, when he set out on an expedition to exterminate the Moors in Africa, where he and almost all his army fell victims to the plague. It is said that the age of the crusades brought chivalry to its perfection, and gave rise to romantic literature. Two centuries of barbarism and darkness are known to have elapsed between the termination of these crusades and the fall of the Greek empire in 1453, when letters revived and civilization first began to take root. And, remembering that two millions of Europeans found graves in the East during the seven crusades, surely such an awful waste of human life was but poorly compensated. Far better had Peter the Hermit abided quietly in his cell, than have personally, and by his example, led forth such multitudes to fruitless destruction.

Having digressed, mayhap, somewhat more widely than is accordant perhaps with a work professing to describe the rise, progress, and decline of Mahomet-

anism, we cannot do better than conclude with an extract or two from the work of Lord Woodhouselee, as edited by the Rev. Brandon Turner. Noticing the effects of the crusades upon Europe in general, and upon the social and political condition of England, he says: "One consequence of the holy wars is supposed to have been the improvement of European manners; but the times immediately succeeding the crusades exhibit no such actual improvement. Two centuries of barbarism and darkness elapsed between the termination of those enterprises and the fall of the Greek Empire, in 1453—the era of the revival of letters and the commencement of civilization. A certain consequence of the crusades was the change of territorial property in all the feudal kingdoms, the sale of the estates of the nobles, and their division among a number of smaller proprietors: hence the feudal aristocracy was weakened, and the lower classes began to acquire weight and a spirit of independence: the towns hitherto bound by a sort of vassalage to the nobles began to purchase their immunity, acquired the right of electing their own magistrates, and were governed by their own municipal laws; the church in some respects gained, and in others lost, by these enterprises: the popes gained a more extended jurisdiction. But the fatal issue of these expeditions opened the eyes of the world to the selfish and interested motives which had prompted them, and weakened the sway of superstition; many of the religious orders acquired an increase of wealth, balanced however by the taxes imposed on the clergy: the coin was altered and debased in most of

the kingdoms of Europe from the scarcity of specie: the Jews were supposed to have hoarded and concealed it, and hence they became the victims of general persecution: the most substantial gainers by the crusades were the Italian States of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, from the increased trade to the Levant for the supply of those immense armies. Venice, as we have seen, took an active concern; and obtained her share of the conquered territory. The age of the crusades brought chivalry to its perfection, and gave rise to romantic fiction. The crusades had the effect of improving the social and political condition of England. Richard the First (Cœur de Lion), to defray the expenses of his expedition to the Holy Land, sold the crown lands, his castles, and the towns built on his demesnes. The Saxon inhabitants of many of the towns redeemed their houses, and once more became a corporation, organized under magistrates, responsible to the king for the payment of the municipal debt, and to the burgesses for the disposal of the sums raised by their personal contributions. Many barons and knights followed the sovereign's example. They sold the whole or portion of their lands, or gave perpetual leases of the farms at fixed rents to their villains-regardant or bondmen, for whatever sums of money they could obtain from them. These were the free or fee-farms, which at one time were so numerous in the ancient cultivated districts of England. A fixity of tenure having been acquired, an impulse was given to industry which rapidly led to the formation of a middle class of society.

On the return of Richard from the Holy Land, and from his captivity in Germany, he annulled all the sales of royal domains which he had so freely made before his departure; pretending that they were merely mortgages, and that the occupiers had been sufficiently reimbursed: the barons and knights, however, were not allowed to act in a similar manner. But, so early as 1224, the ninth year of Henry the Third and thirty-fifth after the departure of Richard the First for Palestine, they became so alarmed at the improvement going on in the social condition of the small Saxon landholders, that they considered it one of those grievances which ought to be provided against. Accordingly, in the third great charter obtained from Henry the Third before he was of age, it was provided, "that no freeman shall from henceforth give or sell any more of his land; but so, that of the residue of his lands the lord of the fee may have the service due to him which belongeth to him."—Cap. 32. And, still further to prevent the subdivision of land, the great barons obtained from Edward the First, in 1285, the celebrated statute, "*De donis conditionalibus*," which has been sarcastically called, "The statute of great men;" its object being to perpetuate in their families their remaining possessions. The evil effects of this statute led Edward the First to favour its evasion, and to extend the privileges of the people by the exercise of the prerogative and by his courts of law. The demand for labour, which followed the establishment of a fixity of tenure, led to the custom of allowing the villains (or

manorial bondmen), to work as hired labourers on condition of performing their stated services to their lord: and, to prevent disputes, those services came to be entered in the books of the manors, and copies in writing given to the villains. This custom having been established, the common law determined that the villain, so long as the customary services were performed, had a right to hold his lands "in spite of any determination of the lord's will."—2 Blackstone, 95. In that way another numerous class of free husbandmen, called copyholders, from the condition of their tenures, were enfranchised. The interests of the barons and lords of manors being affected by the decision of the king's courts of law, the statute "*quia emptores*" was obtained in the eighteenth Edward the First, 1289, to prevent tenants of common lords from claiming that right for the future.

There is reason to believe that in that year the number of small freeholders and copyholders was very numerous, so that by the middle of the fourteenth century the great body of the rural population had become free labourers. Thenceforward the Saxon population of England rapidly advanced to the position which it occupies at the present day.

Chivalry arose naturally from the condition of society in those ages wherein it prevailed. Among the Germanic nations, the profession of arms was esteemed the sole employment that deserved the name of manly or honourable; and the initiation of the youth to this profession was attended with peculiar solemnity and appropriate ceremony. The chief of the tribe bestowed the sword and armour

on his vassals, as a symbol of their being devoted to his service. In the progress of the feudal system, these vassals, in imitation of their chief, assumed the power of conferring arms on their sub-vassals, with a similar form of mysterious and pompous ceremonial. The candidate for knighthood underwent his preparatory fasts and vigils, and received on his knees the accolade and benediction of his chief; and the knight, armed and caparisoned, sallied forth in quest of adventure, which, whether just or not in its purpose, was ever esteemed honourable in proportion as it was perilous.

The high esteem of the female sex is characteristic of the Gothic manners. In those ages of barbarism, the castles of the great barons were in miniature the courts of sovereigns. The society of the ladies, who found only in such fortresses a security from outrage, polished the manners; and to protect the chastity and honour of the fair was the best employ and highest merits of an accomplished knight. Romantic exploit had therefore always a tincture of gallantry:—

“ It hath been through all ages ever seen,
That with the praise of arms and chivalry
The prize of beauty still hath joined been,
And that for reason’s special privity;
For either doth on other much rely;
For he me-seems most fit the fair to serve,
That can her best defend from villany;
And she most fit his service doth deserve,
That fairest is, and from her faith will never swerve.”
Spenser’s Fairy Queen.

To the passion for adventure and romantic love were added very high ideas of morality and religion ;

but as the latter were ever subordinate to the former, we may presume more in favour of their refinement than of their purity. It was the pride of a knight to redress wrongs and injuries; but in that honourable employment he made small account of those he committed; and it was easy to expiate the greatest offences by a penance or pilgrimage, which furnished only a new opportunity for adventurous exploit. Chivalry, whether it began with the Moors or the Normans, attained its perfection at the period of the crusades, which presented a noble object of adventure and a boundless field for military glory.

Few, it is true, returned from those desperate enterprises; but those few had a high reward in the admiration of their countrymen. The bards and romancers sung their praises and recorded their exploits, with a thousand circumstances of fabulous embellishment; for the earliest of the old romances appeared about the middle of the twelfth century—the period of the second crusade.

CHAPTER V.

Character of Saladin—His simplicity—His temperance—Genghis Khan—Origin of the Mamelukes—State of Egypt—Selim the Second—His government—Division of Egypt—Remarks of Volney and Savary—Opinion of Mills—Purchase of slaves—Circassian slaves—Their treatment.

It is said of Saladin, that "*his ear was accessible to the complaints of his meanest subjects; and the various duties of his religion were performed with a scrupulosity worthy of a companion of Mohammed.*" He was himself a determined Sonnite; but was far too cautious and wary a politician to attempt to enforce moral opinions by corporal castigations and persecutions. He was a great patron of literature, and founder of several schools and colleges from which men of eminence in oriental literature since sprung up. These were intended to instruct the people in the orthodox Mahometan faith, which differed in many material points from that professed by the Fatimites of Egypt. To change the opinions of these he never resorted to force, but used mild arguments and adopted conciliatory measures—setting in this instance, as in many others, an example well worthy of being followed by many now in power in various quarters of the globe. He was indeed a wonderful man for that dark age; and, for the matter of that, would be a rare specimen of upright,

honest, and virtuous humanity, even now-a-days. Though his biographers, Arab and Christian, attribute some amatory follies to his youthful days, these were so slight, that they can hardly be said to have tarnished his subsequent career of virtue and victory. They were like breathing upon a resplendent mirror; for a moment the breath of calumny dimmed the surface of his deep reflective mind, but only for a moment; for his character thenceforward, down to the very day of his death, shone forth brighter than ever, reflecting around only the purest virtues, at least so far as it is possible for fallen humanity to be free from vice. While the Emperor of Germany boasted of his alliance, and the descendants of the great Seljuk led his horse, he himself was simplicity personified; gentle in manners, mild in deportment, while his clothes could barely be said to out-rival the coarse garb worn by the old Caliph Omar, whom he equalled in many virtues and excelled in many more. Even Father Mathew, had he been living in those days, would have been delighted with the abstemiousness and sobriety of Saladin. While other potentates of the earth were quaffing bumpers of burgundy from goblets of gold, and throwing pearls to swine by dropping them into their wines, Saladin restricted himself to water, and water only. Yet his name and his power were so great, that he never stood in want of those vain paraphernalia, which are ever the outward sign of inward effeminacy, vice, and weakness; and his charities during a long lifetime had been so great, that when he died it was found that his treasury could not even furnish the

small sum required for his very unostentatious funeral. He was indeed a great and an admirable prince.

From Aioub, the surname of Saladin, his successors in Egypt have been called the Aioubite dynasty.

I O U-bite is, I believe, a dynasty still extant in London, the members of which are sometimes acknowledged upon 'Change, and sometimes reign in the Q. B.; but the children and brothers of Saladin could not agree among themselves, and all its territories, except Egypt, were torn for ever from the Fatimite dynasty. The fair land of Syria and Palestine had barely recovered from the shock occasioned by the influx of the crusaders and the devastations they had committed, when an ominous cloud was seen rapidly gathering over the land again, and the whole country, from the Jihon to the Tigris, was deluged with blood. The Mogul Tartars under Genghis Khan and his successors, surfeited with slaughtering people of all ranks sects ages and creeds, had crowded their camps with thousands of Tartarian slaves of both sexes, whom they disposed of to merchants trading in Asia. The Egyptians, enfeebled beyond measure by internal discord, and finding themselves wholly incompetent to defend the throne, purchased 12,000 of the Turks, and had them educated in military tactics. In these they speedily acquired the most consummate skill; and while employed as a species of body-guard, they planned and worked out the downfall of the Aioub dynasty. Like the prætorian guards, these Turkish slaves very shortly became

the masters of Egypt; till, about the year 1250, the last of the successors of Saladin was murdered by these Turks, who had then assumed the name of Mamelukes—a name terrible indeed, as connected and linked with the most fearful crimes and bloodshed.

For more than two centuries and a half these Mamelukes reigned in Egypt. There were two races of them—the Baharites, who enjoyed supremacy till the middle of the fourteenth century; and the Circassians, who were finally dethroned by Selim. Forty-seven sultans, each averaging a reign of five years, ascended or rather waded through blood to the throne of Egypt during this interval. There was no regard for hereditary succession; but so soon as one sultan had been shot or stabbed or strangled, everybody possessed of a few followers made a rush at the vacant seat of royalty. The contests that here ensued were sanguinary in the extreme. The strongest gained the day, and the streets of Cairo were weltering in blood for months after the accession of each new sultan. All who had opposed his success at first—all on whom suspicion alighted—were quickly put out of the way; and while these open acts of violence were being perpetrated in the glaring light of day, further atrocities were practised in private. Brothers were bribed to stab one another; sons to strangle fathers; wives to poison husbands; and no man, from the sultan down, could tell whether arsenic or sugar of lead had been diluted with his sherbet, or mixed up with his pillauf. The form of government was in a measure aristocratic. The turbulent nobles fixed

upon a sultan, or fought amongst themselves, when forced to yield submission; and when the sultan was duly enthroned, they allowed him to remain there till some one faction grew stronger than another, and then he was a lucky man indeed if he was only deposed, and not beheaded. This unenviable state of affairs was put a term to by Selim the Second, emperor of Constantinople, who in 1517 conquered the Mameluke kingdom, and annexed it to his own. Egypt then first became a province of the Ottoman empire.

In accordance with the law of precedence, as regards the policy of Turkish conquerors, the whole body of the Mamelukes ought to have been exterminated from the face of the earth: but Selim was unwilling to embrue his hands with so much blood, and, acting up to the dictates of his own conscience, departed for once from the strict letter of the law of Turkish usance; little dreaming that three centuries afterwards all his clemency would end in smoke, and the people whom he then spared be utterly annihilated. Selim was apparently a man of sound judgment, and a good politician to boot. He reflected well that it would be dangerous to leave a viceroy in Egypt, when such a distance intervened between Cairo and his own capital. Any man invested even with the powers of a pasha would be tempted to revolt, and if not successfully, would, at least, occasion considerable difficulty annoyance and expense. He therefore determined to project a new form of government. And in this he succeeded admirably: he distributed the power among the different members of the state, keeping all de-

pendent upon himself. He therefore divided the Mamelukes into seven military bodies ; and for the government of the kingdom he appointed a pasha and a divan or supreme council, the members of which were chiefs of the military corps. Egypt was divided into twenty-four compartments, under as many beys, who were always to be chosen from and by the Mamelukes, and who held the rank of mutzellims or governors. The office of the pasha was to make known the commands or firmans of the sultan to the supreme council, to expedite the annual tribute to Constantinople, to guard the country from the invasion of foreign foes, and to counteract the evil influences that might otherwise be produced by the ambitious views of the different leading parties in the country. Then, again, the council possessed the privilege of ratifying all civil and political ordinances, of rejecting the orders of the pasha, and even of deposing him, subservient to the will of the sultan, if all the council were of opinion that such a measure was indispensable. The Mamelukes existed in Egypt during upwards of six centuries, till the eventful 1st of March, 1811, when that terrible massacre of 1600 of them took place under the instruction of Mahomet Ali Pasha ; an event, to which we shall hereafter refer. We have seen the Saracen power exterminated in Egypt, and we shall now follow them overland—for shortness' sake—into India ; but, before doing so, we cannot help adverting to one extraordinary fact which is referred to both by Volney and Savary,* relative to

* Vide Volney's " Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte," tom. i. c. 7 ; Savary's " Lettres sur l'Egypte," tom. ii. lett. 15.

the Mamelukes. By these authorities we are informed that, during the long period that the Mamelukes dwelt upon the soil of Egypt, not one left subsisting issue! Not a single family of them *existed in the second* generation. Many, if not all of them, had offspring, but the children invariably died in their infancy—nearly the same fate attended the issue of the Othman Turks; and it was found that by no other means could these men secure the continuance of their families, saving only by intermarriage with the women that were natives of Egypt—a practice which the Mamelukes detested, being almost as rigid as the Jews were about taking wives only from amongst themselves: the *Canaanitish* woman was a very abhorrence to them, and her touch pollution—hence the remarkable and unprecedented event recorded as fact, that no Mameluke of the second generation ever arrived at years of maturity in Egypt. A comparison is drawn by a learned writer between the animal and vegetable kingdoms, as existing in Tartary and Egypt. He asserts that the plants of Egypt are unable to continue their species in Tartary—by the expression “plant” alluding to human beings and shrubs and trees. “Let the philosopher explain,” says Mills, “the reason why men and women are unable to naturalize on the banks of the Nile a race born at the foot of Mount Caucasus; and let it be remembered, that the plants of Egypt are in Tartary equally unable to continue their species.” It seems that the only means of naturalizing animals and plants would be to contract an affinity with the climate by alliance with the native species.

But, as the Mamelukes always refused alliance with any other than their own race, they were kept in Egypt upon the principle that a farmer might be supposed to adopt in rearing pork for a market. As their numbers decreased—that is to say, as they were disposed of by death in its natural shape, or the noose or the knife, an arsenic pill or a bullet—the hiatus occasioned by these losses was filled up by fresh draughts from Constantinople. Men and women died in Egypt, either young or old; the viceroy or pasha, as the case might be, sent an invoice accompanied with large sacks of money, instructing a trustworthy agent in Constantinople to purchase so many male and female slaves of the breed required; on the receipt of instructions the agent repaired to the slave-market in Constantinople, and there purchased the requisite number from the slaves always on hand, who had been imported from Georgia, Mingrelia, and Tartary; hence they were all of true Mameluke breed. So soon as these purchases were completed one of the agent's first cares was to have both men and women, never mind what their creed might have been, forcibly instructed in the doctrines of Islamism; and the men were trained up in the art of war, and taught colloquially the Turkish and Arabic languages. These slave-markets exist to the present day, though no longer required to supply the market, for which many of them were formerly destined. It would be distressing, and of no good result either to instruction or amusement, to rend the veil that conceals the beautiful face of many a Circassian girl, torn from her home and the

bosom of her family, to become the toy of some loathsomely profligate old Turk. We might read in her sad eye the tale of woe that lurks in the inmost recesses of her yet young and tender heart; but such occupation would be of no benefit to her or ourselves. Her lot is cast—her kismet settled; and though for a week or a day, or sometimes in the solitary wakefulness of night, tears may come unforbidden, and dim the natural lustre of those eyes, as memory too faithfully depicts the happy scenes of her earlier childhood, now shut out for ever on this side of the grave—as the eye conjures up the phantom form of some loved mother or sister, and the ear is entranced with the merry, clear, silvery laugh—that laugh which was turned into a shriek of despair as the voice was borne upon echo, and fell upon the hapless captive who was borne unresistingly from her home for ever;—I say, such moments of anguish may, at intervals, recur to the poor girl's heart; but, happily, it has not been refined by education and moral sensibility. The wild mountains of her home will soon have lost their charm, or, if remembered at all, be only thought upon at intervals, and gradually with more and more indifference. As the queen of some purse-proud effendi's harem, she becomes intoxicated with the gorgeous luxury and plenty that surround her in the harem of her new lord and master,—the abundance of delicious flowers—elegant and various costumes—the best of the land to fare upon—basket-loads of tempting fruit always within reach of her delicate fingers—attended and fawned on by sycophant nymphs and jealous

old duennas—sung to and postured and played for, while she dances some wild step learned in her own wild mountain home, and her husband looks on entranced and enraptured with the houri that he has luckily purchased, the brightest of all the gems brought home to set in the diadem of his domestic crown of happiness. If she become a mother, and luckily bear him a son, the tie of affection is still further cemented; so that thus far our slave girl in Constantinople does not after all lead such a very miserable life—is not such a suitable object for the romances and tears of dear old ladies at home, who delight to make their heroine all that is virtuous, with no end of suffering and a brute of a master. And as for the men slaves!—they certainly have to rough it a little more; but let me tell you gentle reader, that there has been, and there now is, more than one pasha of three tails in Turkey, who was once purchased at this very market—became pipe-bearer to some wealthy man—followed his master's ups and downs in life; and finally came out a gay gilded butterfly—a pasha himself.

CHAPTER VI.

Islamism in India—The Pacha of Khorassan—Sabactazan—His death—Conquests of Mahmoud—The Pagoda of Sumnaut—Description of it—Slaughter of the Brahmins—Splendour of the temple—Destruction of the idol—Its immense wealth.

WE have before alluded to the primitive seeds of Islamism sown in the vast continent of Hindostan by a set of merchants and devotees, who, migrating from Arabia with the determination of visiting Ceylon, were tossed about by contrary gales, and forced to seek refuge upon the coast of Malabar; where, by deep policy, indefatigable zeal, and unquestionable public conduct, they interested in their religion and temporal welfare the native prince who then ruled at Carigalore, and over the whole of the Malabar coast. While these indefatigable missionaries of the Islam faith were thus occupied in peacefully spreading the Koran throughout the eastern world, other and more decisive measures had been adopted by disciples of the same faith in a far different latitude. Towards the termination of the magnificent caliphate of Baghdad, when that power was rapidly declining, the Samniades, a race of eastern princes, wrested from its caliphs some of their most important possessions—among these, Bokhara, Can-

dahar, Khorassan, Zabulistan, Afghanistan, Cabul, and a great portion of the Persian empire; till in the reign of Abdulmalec, the fifth Alpleghin—a Turkish slave who had passed through all the gradations from serfdom to almost absolute sway—was appointed pasha or viceroy of Khorassan. On the death of his master he endeavoured to secure to himself the supreme command (Mansour, the prince's heir, was then an infant); in this attempt he was, however, foiled by the emirs of the country, who rallied round the baby throne: defeated in this project, he fell back upon Ghuznee (Gaznee), a town situated upon one of the numerous tributaries of the river Indus. For sixteen years Alpleghin augmented his dominions and his followers, and for sixteen years had Mansour vainly strove to crush him; but Alpleghin died without obtaining the object of his ambition, and to him succeeded his son-in-law, and general-in-chief, Sabactazan. Though actually possessed of the same power as his deceased father-in-law, the natives of Ghuznee for some time regarded him simply in the light of a governor. But Sabactazan was a strict disciplinarian, and a liberal commander; this at once gained him the esteem of his officers. He established tranquillity throughout his dominions, and invaded India, carrying the Koran with him at the point of the sword. Wherever his victorious army appeared, the monuments and idols of paganism were destroyed. Ravaging the Punjab, he left a memento of his name in two towns built by him upon the banks of the Indus: these were Kosdar and Bost—and Noah, the son of Mansour, esteemed this valiant general more as an

ally than in the light of a subject, During his life the people of Turkestan threatened to extinguish the Samnidian dynasty, but the people of Ghuznee drove them from the invaded provinces. Sabactazan, before death, decreed that his youngest son Ishmail should be his successor; but, as king or sultan, his elder son Mahmoud, who had distinguished himself in the wars against the invaders from Turkestan, took the field against his brother, and obtained his birthright. Mahmoud is reckoned as the first real Sultan of Ghuznee. The power of the Samniades was gone for ever, and the public prayers for that royal family were thenceforward omitted. Shortly Mahmoud was acknowledged and feared from the Caspian to the Ganges—from Transox to the confines of Ispahan. This prince was the actual founder, upon a solid basis, of Mahomedan power in India.

Vast and only partially explored fields reputed to be teeming with wealth, proved a great incentive to the ambitious temperament of Mahmoud, and promises of ample plunder acted similarly upon his troops. Kimrogi in the Upper Ganges, Lahore, Delhi, and Muttra, yielded to his arms; and through many a day Guzerat was a rich source of spoil for his reckless soldiers: but all these conquests, and all the infamies committed by himself and his soldiers, sink almost into nothing when brought to be compared with one of Mahmoud's exploits while making a predatory incursion upon the western provinces of India. This was his accidental discovery of one of the most splendid objects of pagan superstition ever recorded in the annals of Indian war-

fare — the Pagoda of Sumnaut. Two thousand Brahmins and numerous nautch-girls were devoted to the service of this temple, the lofty and magnificent roof of which was sustained by not less than fifty-six pillars covered with thick plates of gold, and inlaid at intervals with precious stones from the mines of the upper provinces of India. Well indeed might Mahmoud and his followers, accustomed as they were to immense booty, have paused, spell-bound to the spot, on first emerging from the dense forest through which they had long and wearily toiled, as they rested awhile to gaze around them. Bright and beautiful as was the landscape, rich in its variety of earth and sky, hill and dale, forest and stream, the masterpiece of art which now rose before them, and its stately and beautiful inmates, occupied all their wonder—all their delight. In the centre of that splendid place was an object, such as the fabulous tales of their country had never equalled. So powerful were the reflected rays of the sun that they were compelled to shade their eyes ere they could look steadfastly upon the temple of Sumnaut. Around on the lawn were scattered two thousand priests, girt from the loins only in pure white apparel, and each performing the sacrifices to their idols, whilst companies of graceful girls, yet in the bud of youth, were engaged in the nautch-dance, to the music of their own voices and the tinkling of their ankle-bells, and the castanets held in their slender fingers and thumbs. They wore wreaths of jessamine and roses intermingled with other native flowers, whilst their loose

and luxuriant tresses floated in the air as ever and anon some zephyr swept the plain. At last the charm was broken, and the invaders with a wild shout charged down amongst the terrified devotees, and whilst the dancers fled into the surrounding topes and jungles, the villagers and priests rushed to the rescue of their venerated idol. Vainly did the Brahmins shout aloud and invoke the interposition of their gods—the indignant wrath of their divine chief, upon these disturbers of their peace and worship. Their idols, like those of the priests upon Carmel's top, might have been, in the words of Elijah, "*asleep, or gone upon a journey.*" The forces under Mahmoud swept everything before them. That pleasant green field, that only a few hours previously resounded to the priestly orison and the virgin song, was now saturated with blood. No temple in the known world, no idol-worship, had ever been the cause of so large a sacrifice of human life. The blood of goats and bullocks, and in some instances of man, had, ere then, been offered by other Indian sects; but never before had Brahmin temple beheld such a sea of sacrificial blood and of life—the greatest abomination of their creed. The Brahmins fought with a spirit of desperation for the preservation and defence of their idol, and not less than fifty thousand forfeited their lives for the cause of paganism; but all to no avail; Mahmoud was victorious; and before even the keen-scented and keener-eyed Brahmin kite had espied from his lofty aerie the feast prepared for him upon earth—the footsteps of Mahmoud and his followers had profaned the pagan

sanctuary. On entering with their hands yet firmly glued to their gory sabres, the plunderers drew back awhile overawed at the magnificent interior. One pendant lamp in the centre illumined the whole of the spacious fabric; being reflected from the innumerable jewels with which the walls were bespangled, and mingling in its glorious rays of light every hue. In the centre stood the supreme idol, Sumnaut himself, composed of one entire stone of immense dimensions — fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were under-ground; and, on this very spot where the conqueror Mahmoud gazed with fanatical indignation upon the idol, had this very source of pagan worship and gross superstition been reputed to have existed, according to Brahminical tradition, between four and five thousand years. Among other duties, the performance of which must have demanded vast expense and labour, was the washing of this image morning and evening with fresh water, brought into a reservoir by an aqueduct from the Ganges over a distance of upwards of 1200 miles. Around the dome were scattered thousands of minor images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions. This temple being not only dedicated to the worship of the grand idol Sumnaut, but a sort of pantheon, wherein were collected specimens of all the many-handed and many-fingered sawmies which are adored by the superstitious natives, even to this day, over the greater portion of the vast continent of India. Here was a sight to feast the eyes of these warriors for the faith of their prophet!—For a moment their senses seemed palsied by the immensity of the sudden booty, and, if anything

added to the happiness of the invader chief and his devout Mahometan troops, it was the reflection that, at the same moment when enriching themselves, they were enforcing the doctrines of the Koran, by causing the destruction of idols and idolaters wherever they penetrated with the sword and the Koran. Hence, when the crafty priests, who alone possessed the secret of the immense wealth of the idol, offered Mahmoud for its preservation a treasury in money and jewels equal in valuation to ten millions sterling—that prince rejected the offer. Vainly they solicited his leniency;—Mahmoud, who was a zealot for the faith he professed, ordered the idol to be destroyed upon the spot. Huge sledge-hammers were wielded by the most powerful men in his army—stroke fell heavily upon stroke—the whole temple reverberated, and the echo from the idol and the dome sounded suggestively of other things besides the hard material without. At length the cause of the Brahminical priest's anxiety was exposed to the astonished Mahmoud and his followers. One powerful arm had rent the strong fabric in twain—all along the centre was an artificial hollow, that had been scooped out unreckoned centuries before, but which had served as a receptacle till crammed up to the very summit, when the top was ingeniously cemented over. The idol of countless generations tottered upon its pedestal for a moment; and, as it fell, the fragments flew all over the temple, and then, forth upon the centre of that floor rolled one immense heap of diamonds emeralds and rubies, exceeding in value, it is said, at least a hundred-fold the original ransom offered—

a ransom which, in any age, would be considered as munificent. Thus fell the idol of Sumnaut—the superstitious object of veneration to a hundred ages.

CHAPTER VII.

Cruelty of Mahmoud—His avarice—His death—Succeeded by Masoud—Benares taken—The Afghan dynasty—Invasion of Tamerlane—Sufferings of his troops—Mountain perils—Progress of Tamerlane—He massacres his prisoners—Capture of Delhi—Slaughter of the Gentoos—Chizee—Belloni—The Emperor of Hindostan.

AFTER the capture of the temple of Sumnaut, Mahmoud treated the unhappy Hindoos with greater harshness than ever. Fired by such rich success, his fanatical zeal followed up the conquest of Sumnaut by acts the most atrocious, wherever his victorious career led him—plundering treasures, destroying temples, and slaying idolaters. His fame as an enthusiastic Mahometan procured for him, from Khadar Billah, Caliph of Baghdad, the title of “Defender of the Faithful,” upon investing him with the sovereignty of Samania. But all the military achievements of Mahmoud, and his rigorous adherence to the doctrines of his faith, were obliterated by his thirst for wealth. When his prosperous course was brought to a close; when the sunshine of his glory was sinking into dark night; when infirmity and age had prostrated the vigorous warrior, and he was bending over the brink of the tomb; then, in the hour of dissolution, heart-rooted attachment for his enormous wealth was painfully displayed. The booty

earned in many a sanguinary contest was at his command brought to his bedside, that he might once more gaze upon these dearly-cherished treasures. Deeply did he bemoan the fate of all flesh, as tears started into his dimmed and death-glazing eye, while he clung to these, the toys of his only earthly solitude. Nor could he force his covetous spirit to distribute among his friends and followers what shortly would be placed beyond his own grasp; and, overcome by excitement, he fell back and expired, returning to his mother earth naked and poor as he had been born. To Mahmoud succeeded his son Masoud, who considerably augmented the already considerable strength of the Ghuznavide empire by the annexation of all Persia (the province of Fars excepted), with the territory of the Bourdes in the Persian Gulf. Masoud, whilst engaged on a predatory excursion, lost Khorassan, which was conquered by the Seljukian Tartars; and the loss of this province was only the forerunner of the dismemberment of the Ghuznavide empire. Kosrow Shah, the last prince of this dynasty, was dethroned by Houssan Ghouri, a native of Gane, who overran a considerable portion of the Ghuznavide empire; while the descendants of Mahmoud were reduced to the possession of a few provinces, bordering on either bank of the Indus. But this new dynasty of Gaurades eventually expelled them from the seat of Mahomedan power at Lahore. The successors of the Ghuznavides were equally rigid as their predecessors in military and religious discipline. Mahommed Gauri succeeded in capturing and plundering Benares, the principal seat of Brahminical learning;

and it is supposed that this conquest first gave rise to the Hindostanee language, now so generally used in the Indian continent ; as no manuscripts in the pure ancient Sanscrit, dating from after this era, have been as yet discovered. The death of Mahommed Gauri again disturbed these parts—Eldoze retaining the Persian provinces, and Cuttah, a friend of the late emperor, the Indian territories. Cuttah was the founder of the Affghan dynasty in India. The ancient Paropamisus, that mountainous tract lying between India and Persia, was originally inhabited by these Affghans ; but Cuttah had formerly invaded Agmuel and Guzarat. Lahore was originally the capital of this prince ; but after he had completed his conquest, and filled for the time being his cup of ambition, even to overflowing, he removed the seat of government to Delhi. His successor, Altmush, having overrun the vast province of Bengal, established in it the Mahometan faith. Two centuries now elapse with nothing worthy of record, relative to the Islam faith, in Hindostan ; but as if to make up for this long period of tranquillity, which had rendered the people less prepared for resistance, Tamerlane made his terrible descent upon India, reiterating the irruption of the Moguls. Ninety thousand horse crossed the Hindu Kho, or Indian Caucasus, near Kawak ; and the passage of these mountains demanded more than ordinary courage and endurance on the part of a military commander. All these requisites Tamerlane possessed to a wonderful extent. Bleak regions of snow, that even in the very height of summer never yielded to the sun's rays ; a perpetual winter clime,

rendered still more terrible by the frequent attacks of the Siahposhians, a fierce and rapacious people; these were amongst the least evils Tamerlane and his hardy followers had to overcome, or perish in the enterprise. But in addition to all this, the roads, to any other but these fierce invaders, would have presented a physical impossibility. The ascent was alternately precipitous hills, a yard deep in snow, with, in many places, overhanging chasms, whose depths obscured the forest trees, spreading over the plains below, whilst sickly vapours, occasionally broken by the rapid flight of wild birds, hovered around them. What their sufferings must have been exceeds the most lively imagination. However, they were a hardy race, active in spirit, strong in nerve and limb, with a wide field of enterprise and plunder before them, and little or no care or fear of death. So they toiled up those dreadful mountains, till finally the summit had been reached; and the piercing winds and snows were gradually distanced as they descended again toward the field of their exploits. But if their losses and their perils had been great during the ascent, these were apparently not to be compared with the terrible route that lay before them in descending. Carefully and slowly they slipped rather than rode down the steep descents; ever and anon some wearied horse would slip from its uncertain footing, roll over and over with its rider, and then slide with fearful celerity towards some sharp point overhanging a fathomless precipice, carrying in its resistless passage all who had the misfortune to be in its way; till a cloud of snow and a cry of agony proclaimed

the fate that had swept perhaps fifty or sixty horses and their riders, and cast them, as a child might cast a handful of dust, down to the plains below. These occurrences were hourly during the more dangerous part of the descent; but no matter how their hearts quailed or their limbs trembled, to pause or to return was alike impossible. Forward they went—forward and forward, reckoning ever and anon by hundreds, not by scores, the comrades who had dropped into eternity. Tamerlane endeavoured to secure his personal safety by causing a raft to be constructed, to which, by means of firmly-secured rings, stout cords were attached; here seated, he was drawn by his soldiers over the snow, or in any part very difficult of descent lowered to any distance not exceeding one hundred and fifty cubits, which was the entire length of these ropes. The Tartar prince marched through Cabul, Irzab-Shemeyan, Neighy and Brumoo, passing the Indus at Reishi, a town some distance below Attok. In following up the course of the Punjab, or five tributary streams of the Indus, which gave the name of Punjab to the frontier provinces towards Tartary, Tamerlane followed the footsteps of Alexander the Great. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, on the borders of the desert, where that renowned hero halted, wept, and relinquished his enterprise, Timour passed the Dena, one of the four branches of the Sutlege, and crossing the desert, destroyed the fortress of Batnir, thence proceeding to Delhi by the road of Lamanah. It was during this memorable march that the most detestable villany in the annals of bloodshed was perpetrated. The number of Tamerlane's prisoners

had so much augmented in his progress that not less than one hundred thousand manacled and closely guarded Indians were led captives between the ranks of his army. Some suppose that lack of provisions was the main cause of their massacre; but the general opinion seems to be that Tamerlane retained them alive so long only as their numbers helped to proclaim his unconquerable force to the nations yet unconquered, serving at the same time as a splendid ornament to his triumph when he should march into any newly-acquired city or province; but no sooner was there a doubt as to the success of a battle wherein he was then about to be engaged, than this miserable multitude was regarded by Tamerlane as equally dangerous to release or to retain—as an assistance to his enemies, or an incumbrance to himself. A brief council was held—its unanimous sentence was carried into instant execution; one hundred thousand corpses were cast rapidly pile upon pile into the nearest ditches and ravines. Delhi made very feeble efforts to resist the onslaught made by Tamerlane and his horsemen. The citizens had long been sunk in sloth and luxury. Sultan Mahmoud arranged a force of elephants, with poisoned daggers fastened to their tusks, to repel the charges of Tamerlane's cavalry; but Timour had dug pits and trenches, into which most of these elephants fell and perished; and such as remained did little or no service, falling in the general destruction that ensued. Religious zeal gave not place to ambition; Delhi had no sooner fallen than the conqueror resolved that the sword should exterminate all those to whom he and his followers had nei-

ther time nor inclination to preach the doctrines of the Koran. Already were he and they well inured to bloodshed, and they had discovered how easy a matter it was, when the power was once acquired, to destroy all who differed from them in faith, with little trouble and in less time. The hundred thousand murdered Indians had given them proofs of what could be effected with a sharp sword and a steady arm. Accordingly the Mogul army proceeded with very slight delay to the spot most sacred to the Hindoos of India, the place where their sacred river, the Ganges, issues from the foot of the mountains, and where, at certain seasons, multitudes of inoffensive Gentoos assembled to purify themselves and perform certain religious rites of their persuasion. Here he obtained for himself, in the kalends of history, the unenviable distinction of being ever thereafter styled the "*Destroying Prince*;" for the massacre that took place here is said to have turned the Ganges within many furlongs into the similitude of the Nile when it was suffering under heaven's curse, inflicted through the agency of Aaron's rod. It was, indeed, a river of blood. Turning hence to the north-west, this Scythian savage, who has well been termed the Robber, not the Conqueror of Hindostan (for he adopted no measures which might facilitate in securing a Mogul government)—traversed the country along the foot of Mount Servalick, pursuing his career of slaughter and devastation with barely any opposition, until he arrived on the frontiers of Cashmere. So great had been his desire to extend the fearful power of his sword and his faith, that within six months he had crossed and re-

crossed the Indus. During all this havoc, the order of succession to the imperial throne had not been disturbed. On the death of Mahmoud, the Patan dynasty terminated. Chinzee, a Seid, or descendant of one of the race of the Prophet, succeeded him, and his posterity enjoyed the supreme sway until the year 1450; when Belloni, of the Affghan tribe of Lodi, took possession of it. But this prince was totally incompetent to the task of governing so vast an empire as Hindostan: the petty princes of provinces assumed each the rule of his own district; the most formidable of all whom was the Rajah of Fronpona, in Allahbad, who had assumed the arrogant title of King of the East. Political revolutions and the distracted state of Hindostan afforded, however, to Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, a splendid field for the accomplishment of his ambitious projects. He quitted his provinces between the Indus and Samarcand, and marching upon Agra, received the submission of all India, and assumed the title of Emperor of Hindostan. This was in A.D. 1530. Probably the fame of his warlike but sanguinary predecessor, Tamerlane, had been preserved in the memory of all the contending rajahs of Hindostan, who held it the wisest and safest course to tender their submission to Baber. With his reign commenced the Mogul empire in India.

CHAPTER VIII.

Character of Ackbar Khan—His toleration—Aureng Zib—Major Rennel's opinion of him—Decline of the Mogul empire—Nadir Shah—Massacre at Delhi—Rise of British power in India—The Abasside dynasty—Decline of Moslem power—Capture of Baghdad—Selim—Fall of the Saracen empire—Its former magnificence—Splendid artificial tree.

FAME and power rapidly increased. Ackbar Khan, a grandson of Sultan Baber, was, for his time, a marvel of civilization and humanity, justly meriting the title unanimously conferred upon him, *the guardian of mankind*. Unlike his ancestor of terrible memory to the Hindoos, Ackbar acquired one of the fairest characters ever recorded of an Eastern potentate. He was courageous, but humane and judicious. By his wisdom and economy peace flourished from Bengal to Agimere. The promoters of civil discord were silenced, and their petty authority superseded by rulers celebrated for their judgment and moderation. But the general attachment and respect were secured to him by his extreme tolerance of other religions than his own. He respected the manners and usages of the Hindoos, and permitted no bigotry to bias the rulers whom he had appointed. Conscience amongst all classes was to be respected, and so liberal were his sentiments on the right of

free discussion, that Christian missionaries reckoned on converting the royal Ackbar. He it was who divided Hindostan into eleven soubahs, each of these into circars or counties, and these again into pungunnahs or hundreds, such as they remain with very slight alteration even to the present day; each circar under the charge of a collector, sub-collector, and his assistants. Under the grandson of Ackbar (Shah Jehan), Delhi again became the metropolis of the empire, and rose into a city of very great splendour. This same grandson of Ackbar, owing to domestic wars, was ultimately imprisoned, his elder sons massacred, and the throne left vacant for a younger one—the terrible Aureng Zib, a very monster of fanatical ambition, and unworthy to be a descendant of Ackbar. His rule extended from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and under him the empire was raised to its meridian glory, for he ruled over sixty-four millions of inhabitants, with an annual crown revenue of thirty-twom illions sterling—and this in a country where the products of the earth cost just one fourth the valuation in England. This Aureng Zib was a horrible shadow of Tamerlane, returned once more to trouble the earth with his crimes; he, too, waded through seas of blood for the realization of any object of his ambition. In speaking of this prince's death, Major Rennel, in his "Memoir to a Map of Hindostan," observes as follows, viz. :—
"Two letters written by him (Aureng Zib) to two of his sons a few days before his death, furnish this striking lesson to frail mortality, that however men may forget themselves during the tide of prosperity,

a day of recollection will sooner or later arrive. Here we are presented with the dying confession of an aged monarch who made his way to the throne by the murder of his brethren and the imprisonment of his father; and who, after being in possession of it, persecuted the most inoffensive part of his subjects either through bigotry or hypocrisy. Here we behold him in the act of resigning *that*, to obtain possession of which he incurred his guilt; and presenting to us a mere sinful man, trembling on the verge of eternity, equally deploring the past and dreading the future. How awful must his situation have appeared to him, when he says:—‘*Wherever I look, I see nothing but the Divinity !*’ ”

So died this man in 1707, and from his death the Mogul empire began rapidly to sink into insignificance. His descendants became mere shadows of royalty—virtue fled the land, and the ruins of the once great empire crumbled away into dust. In 1740, Nadir Shah, the usurper of the Persian throne, was invited into Hindostan by the conspirators against the Mogul dynasty; and, obeying their summons, Nadir entered Delhi triumphantly. The levy of overwhelming taxes occasioned the oppressed citizens to murmur aloud at so unrighteous an act; when the more effectually to hush their complaints, the usurper of Persia ordered a general massacre; and this unhappy metropolis of the Mogul empire became once again the scene of tumult rapine and desolation. Fearful indeed was the scene that ensued when the orders of this monstrous tyrant were put into execution, and the

lust for gold and bloodshed was terrible and insatiable. So great was the panic that ensued, that the inhabitants submitted, without offering the slightest resistance, to be mowed down like a human harvest in the streets. The Hindoos, locking up their wives and daughters, set fire to their houses, and as the flames rapidly consumed them, added their own bodies an additional and voluntary sacrifice, rather than fall into the merciless clutches of their destroyers. Death appeared in every street, in every shape, and in most instances was sought instead of avoided. At the solicitation of the emperor of Delhi, the invader at last put a termination to this fearful massacre, reseated Mahommed upon his throne, and then "like a destructive comet rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, burning all the towns and villages, and marking his route with devastation and death."

India now enjoyed a tranquil repose; but only for a very short period. The power of the descendants of emperors and people professing the Prophet's faith was utterly exhausted. The banner of Great Britain was gradually being unfurled over that vast continent, till finally it floated triumphantly from one end nearly to the other of the vast empire. The rulers of the faith introduced by the Saracens were now extinct; but the faith introduced by them had taken firm root; and is flourishing verdantly as ever down to the present date. When it shall be uprooted, or how, is what none can assume to prophesy. But schoolmasters, and science, and civilization, must lead the way before the missionary can hope to reap his harvest

among a people whose greatest fault is their fierce and deep-founded fanaticism.

We have followed even down to the present date the spread and existence of Islamism in India, where among a large portion of the inhabitants it is still a predominant religion ; it would be, therefore, foreign to our purpose to refer to the incursions into China, or the extension of Islamism into the Malayan peninsula and islands—a faith which is only admitted on sufferance amongst the greater mass of the inhabitants, who are pagans, and where even these forms of Islamism have become strangely conglomerated and embodied with Buddhist rites ; till the soi-disant Mahometans of Sumatra or Penang have as little resemblance in the doctrine and tenets they profess to what is laid down in the Koran, as is possible without sinking their faith into absolute Buddhism. We may now therefore retrace our steps rapidly along the shores of the Persian Gulf, and so to the once glorious city of Baghdad, where the Eastern empire of the Saracens arrived at a splendour unrivalled in the annals of history. When the Saracens had divided themselves into three distinct nations, under as many distinct caliphs—viz. those of Spain, Africa, and Baghdad—a prince of the house of the Abassides then held supreme sway, and ruled in magnificence at the latter city. For five hundred years did the family of Abbas reign with various degrees of authority over the Moslem world. Domestic revolts and the ambition of foreign invaders gradually dissolved the empire ; and Radhi, the twentieth caliph of the house of Abbas, was the last who

was invested with any considerable spiritual or temporal power. The learned Arabian historian, Abul-fedā, says that this prince was the last "*who harangued the people from the pulpit, who passed the cheerful hours of leisure with men of learning and taste, whose expenses, resources, and treasures, whose table or magnificence, had any resemblance to those of the ancient caliphs.*" For three centuries after Radhi's death, the successors of Mahommed ruled with a feeble sway. Some were confined within their own seraglios as prisoners, and there, as in the case of that unhappy imbecile Caliph of Spain, almost starved to death. So gradually the sceptre departed from the hands of the descendants of the Prophet, till, seven hundred years after his flight, the venerable city of Baghdad fell into the hands of Houlazan Khan (a grandson of Zinghis), then Emperor of the Moguls and Tartars, who at that period ruled with absolute despotism over every nation of the East. Mostassem, the thirty-seventh caliph of his house, was murdered under peculiarly atrocious and barbarous circumstances. The caliphate of Baghdad expired. However, though the dignity and sovereignty of the caliphs were laid aside for ever by the foregoing event, yet the shadow, the name, existed for three centuries longer, in the persons of the eighteen descendants of Mostanser Billah, a son or pretended son of Daher, the last but one of this race of princes. Mostanser Billah and his eighteen successors were termed the second dynasty of the Abassides, and were spiritual chiefs of the Islam faith; without, however, a shadow of temporal power being invested in them. Selim, who, as we have

already seen, conquered Egypt from the Mamelukes in 1517, there found amongst this presumptuous people the caliph a prisoner. Him he conveyed to Constantinople, where he compelled him to renounce in his (Selim's) favour the title to ecclesiastical supremacy; and when this caliph died, the family of the Abassides, who through eight centuries had been caliphs, and through five of these illustrious in their rule, sank with him from the latter obscurity of their days into utter oblivion. So terminated the power of the Saracen empire in the East; and would you seek for the aborigines—the people from whom this cloud, not bigger than a hand, came forth and eclipsed the whole glory of the rest of the world—you have only to seek them in their original wilds in Arabia. There, to the present day, in clothing, diet, and simplicity, they are precisely the same people as those to whom the Prophet, nearly thirteen hundred years since, preached his startling doctrines in the desert. Famous as ever for horsemanship, endurance of fatigue, and boldness, they are only now notorious for their love of plunder, and their predatory visits to the cities and towns bordering upon the desert. But now that the black banners of Khaled have once again, after so long a lapse, been unfurled in the East; now that the Moslem crusade is being preached against the invader of the peace of all nations, I little doubt but that the spark of chivalry, now long slumbering in their bosoms, will be speedily fanned again into a flame; and should the Russians, with all their valiant Cossacks, chance to encounter these locusts of the far and arid deserts of Araby—anywhere in the

plains of Asia Minor, or where their noble steeds can have fair play—methinks they will find the Bedouin troops as fierce and as terrible an enemy as ever drew sword for the defence of an injured and insulted sovereign. And now, before we bid adieu to the Saracen power, let us see what is said in exemplification of their once magnificence:—“*The Caliph Mortadi's whole army, both horse and foot,*” according to Abu-el-feda, “*were under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men.*” His state officers stood beside him in the most splendid apparel, their belts shining with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand black and white eunuchs; the porters or door-keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were swimming on the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were silk, embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floors were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion (most probably of the same breed as those which the pasha made Mr. Layard a present of, and which he describes in his interesting work upon Nineveh). Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver, which opened itself into eighteen larger branches, upon which and the other lesser branches sat birds of every sort, made of the same costly materials as the tree itself. The tree glittered with leaves of the same metals; and while its branches, by the aid of machinery, were rustling the leaves, and waving

to and fro as though rocked by the summer breeze, the birds seated upon them were, by the same artificial means, brought to imitate the warbling of the various feathered songsters most known about the banks of the Tigris. Who could conceive anything more splendid and imposing than this spectacle must have been?—an apt representation of the pageantry and pomp of a morally degraded people, who, unable to rely upon their own moral strength, without the garb and the fragile staff of vain-glory and display, marshalled forth this pompous array to show to the world the height and depth and width and length of their riches and power, both at that hour basking in the happy sunshine of prosperity, and both destined rapidly to set with that sun for ever, far beneath the waves of the ocean of oblivion.

CHAPTER IX.

The Sultan Aladdin—Othman—The Greek Emperor Palæologus—Othman's successes—Brusa taken—The Moslem army—Further conquests—Amurath the First—His military successes—The vizier's advice—Origin of the Janissaries—Their formidable character—Battle of Cassova—Death of Amurath—His character—Bajazet the First—Pope Alexander the Sixth.

THE forefathers of the present Turks were the Kepjaks, Oghinsian or Genyz Tartars, and dwelt on the plains of Cumania to the north of the Caspian Sea. They descended into Khorassan about the middle of the twelfth century, and eventually became subject to the sultans of that country, forming the flower of their armies. After a time some Turkoman soldiers engaged in the service of Aladdin, then Seljuk Sultan of Konia or Iconium. The Korasmian Turks, under the command of Soliman Schah, invaded Asia Minor at the commencement of the fourteenth century, and the schah's son, Orthogrül, became a subject and soldier of Aladdin; and with their combined forces the sultan and his captain preserved Iconium from the ravages of the Moguls; finally, the Seljuks of Iconium and the Korasmian Tartars became one people, thenceforward known as the Othman Turks, when the sceptre was transferred from the Seljukian princes to their enter-

prising generals. Othman, the son of Orthogrul, the brave captain of Sultan Aladdin, was the founder of Turkish greatness. Othman, though descended from a race of predatory shepherds, possessed all the requisites of an accomplished soldier in that era. Time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty had expired, the Mogul power was rapidly on the decline, and Othman's domains bordered on those of the Greek empire. His faith encouraged a war of extermination against all infidels, and the slack policy of the Greeks unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and enabled Othman to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, contemporary with Othman, these passes had been zealously guarded by a local militia; which, for the consideration of being exempt from taxation, had undertaken and carefully performed this duty. The Greek emperor had unwisely abridged these privileges, and broke down the spirit of the mountaineers under heavy burdens and taxation. The passage of the passes was easily effected by Othman, and the towns of Nicomedia and Nice fell, shaking in their fall the very foundations of the Greek power in Bithynia. The capture of Brusa confirmed the house of Othman in its wealth and power, but not less than seven-and-twenty years had been occupied in this latter conquest; for the Othmans, though active and enterprising, lacked numerical strength; and their armies were recruited by the casual supplies of captives and volunteers. Neither was it until the close of a life of sixty-nine years that Othman received the intelligence of the

capture of Brusa by his son and successor, Orchan, who came into power about A.D. 1326. The lives and possessions of the Christians were ransomed at thirty thousand crowns of gold; the city becoming the capital of the Othman monarchy, and first assuming the aspect of a Mahometan capital. In it were founded a mosque, a college, and an hospital, and thither Persian and Arabian students repaired to study the several sciences. Aladdin, the brother of Orchan, was appointed first vizier; and an imperial coinage was struck with the name and impression of the new dynasty. Garments, varying in shape and colour, were adopted to distinguish the Moslem from the professors of other creeds, as also to denote the distinction between the aristocracy, the middling classes, and the citizens. Heretofore, the troops of Othman had consisted of irregular squadrons of Turkoman cavalry, who served without pay, and fought without discipline; but the new sultan enrolled a regular body of infantry, who were properly disciplined; and a great number of militia were also enrolled upon a very small stipend, but permitted to follow their avocations at home, unless when necessity summoned them to the field. "Their rude manners and seditions disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as the soldiers of himself and the Prophet." But the Turkish peasantry had still the privilege of following the sultan's standard, and participating in booty. Sultan Orchan subjugated the whole of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and by his conquest of Gallipoli in the Chersonesus, the passage from Asia into Europe was at his

command. But his marriage with the daughter of the Greek emperor, Cantacazene, scandalized the church and impeded his ambition. Amurath the First, the third sultan of the Othman dynasty, was inspired with the same spirit for conquest as his two immediate predecessors ; he subdued with little or no opposition the whole of Thrace or Romania, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital ; when Adrianople was chosen for the seat of his government and religion in Europe. Constantinople had often in the lapse of a thousand years been the central point of attack both from the East and from the West ; but never until the reign of the first Amurath had the Greeks found themselves hemmed in both on the European and Asiatic sides by the armies of the same potentate. The conquest was not difficult ; but Amurath bearing in mind, perhaps, his father's alliance with Cantacazene, and compassionating the humiliation of the emperor, John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed his court and camp, he postponed the easy enterprise. But he marched against the Sclavonian nations between the Danube and the Adriatic ; the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, those warlike tribes who at one time had been a scourge to the Roman empire, were repeatedly put to flight by the Ottoman sultan. These countries were not found to be prolific in mines, neither were their villages encumbered with commerce, or sunk in luxuriance ; but the reflective mind of Amurath found in these bold and hearty people a desirable support of his own power.

The vizier reminded his sovereign that, according

to the Mahometan law, he was entitled to a fifth portion of every spoil ; and that imposts might easily be exacted by officers, stationed to watch the passes at Gallipoli ; and that he should select for his service the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian youths. This advice was acted upon ; many thousands of the European captives were instructed in the Mahometan religion and in military discipline. This new militia then received the benediction of Hadgi Bek-tash, a dervish celebrated for his miracles and prophecies. We are told that this benediction was delivered by the dervish, who, stretching one arm over the head of the nearest soldier, said, " Let them be called *Yeugi cheri*" (new soldiers), a word afterwards transformed into janissaries :—" Let their countenance be ever bright—their hand victorious ; their sword keen ; let their spear always hang over the head of their enemies ; and wheresoever they go, may they return with whitened faces." Such was the origin of that formidable body, fifteen thousand of whom were, within the last twenty years, slaughtered at Constantinople, and the entire institution abolished. The highest military distinctions were conferred upon these young soldiers, to incite their personal courage and to animate the whole body with martial ardour. The janissaries soon became the flower of the Ottoman armies : at first their numbers were inconsiderable, but under Suleyman they amounted to not less than twelve thousand bold and able men, and their numbers since that time have considerably increased. At an age so far back as the reign of Suleyman, sagacious persons foresaw that, though he

was able to restrain them, the janissaries would one day become too strong for his successors. It must be remembered that, at the time of their first organization not a prince in Christendom maintained a regularly enrolled body of paid infantry; hence these Turks possessed great superiority from experience and practice over hastily-collected bodies of men wholly unaccustomed to military discipline. The janissaries became zealous proselytes to their new faith; and a spirit of intolerance grew up in their successive generations, so that they fought against their own countrymen with all the fanaticism of the earlier troops of Khaled, till in the battle of Cassova the independence of the Slavonic tribes was utterly annihilated. We are told that on this occasion the conqueror, walking over the field strewn with dead after the hard-contested victory, observed with some chagrin to his vizier, that the greatest part of the slain consisted of mere striplings and beardless youths; but the vizier, well-versed in court flattery, replied that opposition to the invincible sword of Othman was ever more characteristic of the rashness of youth than of the prudence of maturer years. But neither courtly adulation nor soldierly prowess could avert from Amurath his destiny. While spurning aside with his foot the corpses which strewed the ground before him, suddenly, from the unsightly pile up started a Servian soldier, who collected his expiring strength, and plunged his sword deep into the body of the imperial conqueror. Thus in the hour of victory, did Amurath fall under the avenging hand of the vanquished. Yet he is recorded to have been unassuming in demeanour,

gentle in temper, modest in apparel, and a liberal patron of learned men. His Moslem subjects were, however, much scandalized by his continual absence from the mosque; and his pride was subjected to a terrible insult upon one occasion, when a certain mufti refused to receive his testimony in some civil suit, on the plea of his neglecting the public observance of those rites so rigidly imposed upon all true believers, and more especially upon sultans; who were considered as protectors of the faith. To him succeeded his son, Bajazet the First, surnamed Ilderim, or Lightning. The earliest foe to his tranquillity was his own brother Geme, who aspired to the imperial sway; but this latter was soon compelled to acknowledge the ascendancy of his brother; and, fearing that the Caliph of Egypt might betray him into Bajazet's hands to procure peace for himself, Geme fled for refuge to the Island of Rhodes, whence, at the suggestion of the Grand Master, he proceeded to Rome. Alexander the Sixth received the Mahometan refugee with much kindness and distinction, entertaining him at the Palace of the Vatican. Instigated, however, by avarice and the splendid bribes offered him by the Sultan Bajazet, Pope Alexander—to his infamy be it recorded—kept the unhappy Turkish exile in a princely captivity, till weary of the expensive charge he is said to have procured or permitted his assassination.

.

CHAPTER X.

Reign of Bajazet—Invasion of Hungary—Battle of Nicopolis—
Illness of Bajazet—Palæologus pays tribute—Civil discord—
Mahomed the Second—Constantinople—Its importance—
Ceremony of dedication—Improvement of the city—Councils
held there—Dandolo the Blind—The Emperor Michael
Palæologus—Battle of Varna.

DURING the fourteen years of his reign, Bajazet appears to have acted up to the signification of his surname; for his movements were considered rapid as lightning. He was perpetually suffering from ill health, the results of debauchery and excessive fatigue. Though an ardent promoter of the Koran, he did not hesitate to invade the Mahometan dominions in Asia Minor; and was continually journeying from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates. Now, though Arabian and Turkish historians have recorded the exploits of all the early Othman princes, entitling them sultans, this appellation was not really used until the days of Bajazet, when the humble title of Emir was cast aside, as unsuitable to the dignity of this aspiring soldier. Bajazet, however, condescended to accept the last patent from the caliph who served in Egypt under the Mameluke yoke, as Sultan of Romania, Greece, and Thrace—the last homage of this kind yielded to the house of Abbas

and the successors of the Prophet by its Turkish conquerors. The ambition of Bajazet soon led him to invade the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of Turkish victories and defeats. The Hungarians fought for their church and Christendom; and the most renowned knights of Germany and France marched under Sigismund; but they were signally defeated by Bajazet at the battle of Nicopolis, where a hundred thousand vain-glorious men, who had boasted that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances, were either slain or driven into the Danube, and their chief returned shorn of his power and his pride into his own kingdom. The Mahometan sultan, flushed with victory, declared that he would storm Buda and subdue the adjacent countries of Italy and Germany; adding, as a counterpart of the Christians' irreverent vaunt, that he would feed his charger with a bushel of oats at the altar of St. Peter at Rome. But, as Gibbon remarks, "*His progress was checked, not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle, not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral are sometimes corrected by those of the physical world; and an acrimonious humour, falling on a single fibre of one man, may prevent or suspend the misery of nations.*" But no sooner did Bajazet's health return, than his ambition burst forth with renovated energy. The conquest of the Papal empire would have proved a splendid jewel in his diadem; but its remoteness was a check to its accomplishment. Constantinople was nigh at hand, and its wealth and grandeur were a perpetual nightmare to the ambitious sultan. He

longed to overthrow the future pride of the Stamboulines; but he was diverted from attempting this by the sage counsel of his vizier, who dreaded the indignation of Europe by an attack upon the metropolis of the Eastern church. Notwithstanding this, the ambassadors of Bajazet had so intimidated Palæologus, that he consented to the payment of an annual tribute and the toleration of the Mahometan faith within the walls of Constantinople. Timour's invasion of Bajazet's dominions gave that city a long respite; and had his successors, like those of Genghis Khan, been worthy of the name of their great ancestor, a new empire would have been founded on the ruins of Bajazet's monarchy. After this period, the annals of Turkish history are filled—to quote the words of Mills—with details of civil wars among the children of Bajazet; but the youngest, Mahomed, restored the unity of the empire. Romania and Anatolia formed its principal strength; and those countries were enjoyed in the fulness of power by his son, Amurath the Second.

Next to Amurath came the great conqueror of Constantinople, Mahomed the Second; one of the greatest men recorded in history, as Bayle says, if the qualifications of a conqueror constitute true greatness. So far back as the third century of the Christian era, the Emperor Constantine had conceived the idea of founding a city, that should surpass Rome herself in beauty and magnificence; serving as a memento, while time should endure, of his valour and greatness. During the wars which the emperor waged with his brother-in-law, the Consul Lascinius, his attention was drawn to the natural

advantages of the ancient Byzantium, on the banks of the Bosphorus; and who that has ever visited Constantinople but must admire his judgment? Its command of the opposite shores of Europe and Asia, with a secure and capacious harbour; the magnificence of its scenery, unrivalled in the gorgeous East; the fertility of its soil; and the salubrity of its climate?—Among these attractions, Constantine resolved that the younger sister of beautiful Rome should rear her head over the waters of the Mediterranean. Advantageously situated for commercial purposes, and as a military position, difficult to assail though easy to defend, Byzantium appeared to combine within herself all the advantages and all the luxuries necessary to constitute the capital of a learned and opulent kingdom. The wealth and genius and labour of thousands were at once applied to realize this day-dream of the emperor. Forests were abundant on the borders of the Black Sea; quarries of marbles furnished from Proconnesus the requisites for the noble fabrics destined to form the city of Constantinople. Like Solomon of old, he sent couriers to all parts of the empire, to procure skilful masons and carpenters. The cities of Greece and Asia, the creations of the age of Pericles and Alexander, the trophies of memorable conquests, the statues of heroes and of gods, of the masters of Grecian philosophy and Grecian song—all these were removed from their native soil to adorn the temples, the squares, and the palaces of the new city. In the middle of the month of May, A.D. 334, the sun's rays for the first time cast a golden mantle

•

over the new-born city, which on that day was to undergo the early Christian ritual of baptism or dedication.

The old Pagan spirit still lingered in the heart of the Emperor; for, while this child of his imperial hope was dedicated to the Virgin Mary — a solemnity of a very opposite kind, which has scandalized all historians, was joined with the Christian rite—the statue of the emperor carved in wood, and richly gilded and decorated, carrying in its hand a small figure of “*the genius of the place*,” was borne in a triumphal chariot through the streets, surrounded by a vast concourse of attendants, carrying lofty tapers and clothed in the most costly garments. When the procession reached the Hippodrome, where was placed the throne of the emperor, he bowed reverently to the figure in the hand of this statue, and there named the city Constantinopolis, or the City of Constantine.

To the last day of his life Constantine omitted no opportunity of enriching and embellishing his new capital. He promoted the increase of population within the city walls by endowing the citizens with many exclusive privileges; causing thereby an immense influx of the most affluent and powerful of his subjects, while the poorer classes were equally attracted by the liberal largess of corn and oil which was daily bestowed upon them. And herein Constantine was interred with a stately funeral, in 337. From the death of its founder up to the period of the Turkish invasion under Mahomet the Second, many and strange were the fortunes of

Constantinople. It was the theatre of some of the most remarkable events which history records. In Constantinople the church held several councils :— First, in the year 381, relative to the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; in 583, against the doctrines preached and promulgated by Origen and others, on the resurrection of the body and the pre-existence of the soul; in 680, against the Monothelites, or those who asserted that, although our Redeemer had two natures, Divine and human, he was only possessed of a single will; in 692, relative to the celibacy of the priesthood; in 754, against the use and adoration of pictures and images in worship; in the year 869, when Photius—a virtuous and eminently erudite laic, who had been raised to the Patriarchate of the East by the Emperor Michael, in the room of Ignatius the deposed bishop—was in his turn deposed by Basilus the Macedonian; and the council was held to confirm his deposition. In 897, another council was held, called by the Roman Church, “*The False Council.*” But wars more destructive than those of theologians were perpetually being waged within the walls of Constantinople. It was wrested from the Greeks by Dandolo the Blind; who, uniting the Venetian forces with those of France, attacked it from the sea and pillaged it of all its treasures. To use the emphatic language of Gibbon—“The magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation.” After the whole booty had been equally divided between the French and the Venetians, fifty thou-

sand marks were deducted, to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French share amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver—a sum equal in that age to seven times the present annual revenue of England.

For fifty-seven years did Constantinople remain in the hands of the Franks; when in 1261 it was recaptured by the Greeks under the Emperor Michael Palæologus; but the successors of this potentate grievously lacked military skill or spirit. Unapt to govern, enslaved by superstition, and mentally and physically reduced by licentiousness, the sceptre trembled in their hands. Under their sway the empire became more and more helpless. This was not unnoticed by those fiery enthusiasts the Turkish princes, who had announced themselves as the defenders of the Mahommedan faith, and the propagators at the sword's point of the doctrines enunciated by the Koran. The capture of Gallipoli, as we have already seen, had given the race of Othman a footing in Europe; while the defeat of the Christians by Bajazet had inspired them with irrepressible ardour for the conquest of Constantinople; and, if practicable, of the whole of Europe. This doom, was, as we have further seen, averted for a time by the appearance of Timur-Bey-Tamerlane; who on the invitation of the Asiatic princes had come to oppose the Ottoman forces, and who had led the vanquished Bajazet to captivity and death. But Mahomed had been reinstated in his power. Amurath the Second had subdued the

greatest part of the Byzantine Empire ; and defeated the Poles and the Hungarians, at the great battle of Varna. Mahomed the Second had ascended the throne ; and the doomed hour for the fall of Constantinople was then close at hand.

CHAPTER XI.

Mahomed the Second—Siege of Constantinople—Giustiniani—
Embassy to Pope Nicholas—Dissensions—Brave defence of
Constantinople—Stratagem of Mahomed.

FOR a long period Mahomed the Second had been actively preparing operations against the great city of Constantine. Forts were erected, commanding the narrow pass of the Bosphorus; but all might have proved of none avail had not treachery again assisted the professors of the Mahometan faith. It is remarkable, and what many of our readers cannot fail to have observed, that nearly all the most important victories of the Islams, since the early days of Omar, derived their success from treason. Of this fact, little honourable as it may be to the Moslem character, Damascus, Aleppo, Antioch, and Tripoli, are signal proofs: and such is, yet more unquestionably, the history of the Spanish dynasty.

A deserter from the Greek service, by some said to be a Dane, by others a Hungarian, made known to Mahomed the weak points of defence in the Christian capital, and offered to cast cannon of greater calibre than any then in the possession of the Ottoman invaders. Under this renegade's superintendence a foundry was established at Adrianople, the results whereof fulfilled the most sanguine expectations of

the Turkish sultan ; but Constantine had not remained an idle spectator of the Moslem's mighty preparation ; he, on his part, had equipped his four thousand nine hundred and seventy men—all that he could bring into the field capable of resisting the foe, or, indeed, of bearing arms at all—from the stores of the arsenal. A Genoese noble, named Giustiniani, placed his service and those of two thousand men well armed and equipped at the emperor's disposal. A liberal sum was bestowed upon the Genoese and his volunteers ; and Constantine promised, should victory crown their arms, bestowing upon them the Island of Lemnos.

It is worthy our notice that, whether or not descendants of the same stock, from the earliest period when tolerance upon the smallest scale began to be exercised by the Turkish sultans, the family of Giustiniani have occupied a prominent position among the Europeans residing at Constantinople and other parts of the Ottoman dominions : always the wealthiest and most important merchants of the cities wherein they dwelt, they have long become naturalized in Scio—Greeks by birth and by religion. But this is easily to be accounted for in a country where all castes and colours, save only Turks and Jews, intermarry ; the descendants usually adopting the father's faith, though, in case of his death in their infancy they are generally educated in that of their mother.

But to return—measures were adopted to render the harbour unnavigable. A strong chain was drawn across its mouth, sustained and defended by several vessels of war and some small craft. All ships

arriving from the Black Sea were impressed into this arduous service. Ambassadors were then dispatched to the Vatican praying Pope Nicholas to send succour to the distressed city, and promising in return spiritual obedience to the papal see. In answer to this, a cardinal was dispatched to Constantinople; who, on arriving there, celebrated high mass in the church of St. Sophia, on the 12th of December, when the representatives of the Eastern and Western churches were united in the solemn ceremony. Unhappily, the dress the language and the demeanour of the Roman priests aroused the indignation of the multitude. Greek monks traversed the city from one extremity to the other, imploring, threatening, and beseeching the people to abjure all communion with the Latin Church and its adherents. So that, even in the hour of utmost need and peril, these priests succeeded in disuniting the people—in exciting religious animosity at the very moment when their only hope of safety depended upon their unity—that unity which gave strength to the invaders, and which alone could have given success to the Christian cause. But who could restrain these priestly fanatics, who instead of preaching the mission of peace raised the war-cry of discord, and brought down upon themselves the destruction of their city? Well for the emperor had he refrained from suing for succour at the hands of Rome!—Repentance was however too late; and, deserted by those who had nominally come to assist him in his necessity, the unfortunate emperor resolved to resist the Ottoman force.

It was a lovely spring morning; the dawn had

ushered in the sixth day of April of this year. The Turks in battle array rushed upon the city wall from landward, and attempted to carry it by main force. Aided by his foreign auxiliaries and a body of native soldiers, Constantine valorously repulsed the besiegers, and destroyed the trenches and embankments they had thrown up. Day after day the attack was resumed by Mahomed, who put into practice every imaginable plan of assault; but still the brave handful of Christians prevailed, and the Turks were invariably repulsed. Fortune seemed to smile upon the besieged; for, in addition to these slight successes, five vessels laden with food and stores of ammunition for the besieged city had forced a passage through the Turkish fleet, and steering along the Bosphorus had anchored safely in the harbour. Thus baffled and enraged, Mahomed allowed to himself and his generals no rest by night or by day. It was evident to the besiegers that unless the city could be stormed simultaneously by land and sea the victory—to say the least of it—would be very doubtful. The chain with the armed galleys and vessels presented a formidable obstacle on the harbour-side of the city; in short, it was inaccessible, unless Mahomed could transport his lighter vessels and artillery overland into the higher part of the harbour. The plan was executed almost as rapidly as it was conceived—the darkness of the night favoured the attempt; and the armed boats of Mahomed were safely launched in the shallow waters of the harbour beyond the reach of the Greek vessels, whose draught was too great to admit of their near approach to the city.

The Greeks had been totally unprepared for an attack from this side; the ships, and the chain, and the galleys presented, as they thought, ample security from the sea-side—they had neglected to keep the fortifications on the harbour-side in repair; these were all in a ruinous condition. Had it not been for this strange oversight, Constantinople would have successfully resisted, and in all probability finally baffled, the resources and patience of the Mahometans.

CHAPTER XII.

Dismay of the Christians—Constantine's address to his soldiers—
Their heroic determination—General attack—Death of Constantine Palæologus—Fall of Constantinople—Ferocity of the victors—Remarks—Modern discoveries—Progress of civilization—Decline of Brusa and Adrianople—Misgovernment of the sultan—Oppression of the Ryahs.

GREAT was the dismay of the Christians when they were roused early in the morning by the loud report of fire-arms in that direction, upon the impregnability of which they had placed such implicit reliance—still greater their consternation when they discovered the Moslem's stratagem. The fire which the Ottoman boats had opened upon the crumbling walls speedily completed their demolition, and the assault was carried sword in hand. Though exhausted and distracted, the impoverished and scanty garrison are said to have performed prodigies of valour. The priests, instead of fighting like men and citizens, employed themselves in carrying the image of the Virgin in procession, invoking her help, and mingling their invocations with curses on their fate, and entreaties to the emperor to surrender at discretion, so that their lives at least might be saved. But Constantine bravely determined to resist till the last—to die or conquer. He summoned the noblest and the bravest of the

Greeks to meet him beneath the dome of St. Sophia on the evening of the 28th of May, and there addressed them in strong and pathetic language, urging them by the remembrance of their past glory, to meet death as it behoved patriots and soldiers. This speech has been accounted as "*The funeral oration of the Roman empire.*" The brave and unfortunate men mingled their tears and supplications, and embraced each other in a farewell embrace. The name of Jesus was for the last time echoed through that lofty dome, as the prostrate suppliants implored the Saviour's mercy—for the last time the Christian knee was bended, the Christian ensign raised within that sanctuary, and the Christian prayer last pronounced within that sanctuary resounded by the martyrs then about to die firm in their faith. The door of St. Sophia was closed by Christian hands in that last hour of its Christian worship; and each one of these brave men repaired to his allotted post. The long and weary hours of the night, more terribly insupportable to hearts weighed down with the oppression of impending calamity—the solemn dark hours of the night laboured onward silently—not a shot was fired, not a voice heard to interrupt the awful stillness. Nature seemed to have flung her pall over the doomed city. The rushing tide was the only sound that reached the ears of the weary watchman on its ramparts. It was, indeed, the calm which precedes the hurricane. Two hundred and sixty thousand Moslems were silently investing the walls of the fated city to rush upon its defenders with the earliest streak of dawn; and the

morning of the 29th of May, 1453, saw that mighty host precipitate itself on the devoted remnant of those brave Greek troops, who small as their original force had been, were now materially thinned by the long siege which they had hitherto successfully resisted. During two hours the conflict remained undecided; when an arrow pierced the leader of the Genoese auxiliaries. Weakened by loss of blood, or terrified by his peril, Giustiniani fled, followed by his men, through one of the breaches in the city walls which had been effected by the Turkish artillery. As the defence of the city slackened, so was the attack urged on with redoubled vigour. The emperor flew from rank to rank exhorting and encouraging his soldiers. He had cast away every symbol of his rank; but his voice and his face were too familiar to his followers to be lightly forgotten—followed by several of his nobles, he threw himself into a breach where the Turks were endeavouring to effect an entry. There Constantine Palæologus fell by an unknown hand, and there his body was afterwards discovered beneath a pile of his bravest defenders. With his death terminated the resistance made by the soldiers and citizens. Two thousand captives were put to the sword. The remaining inhabitants fled for protection to the churches, especially to that of St. Sophia, vainly imagining that the sacred character of the place would be respected by the Moslems. The Turkish troops hesitated not to break open the doors of the sanctuaries with their battle-axes; and bursting into churches, monasteries, palaces, and houses, they stripped their captives of all their

portable wealth ; and then, without distinction of sex rank or age, bound them with cords and chains in gangs, and thus drove them to the camps and to the ships. Above sixty thousand are said on that day to have fallen into the terrible bondage for many years imposed upon all Christian slaves. Several of the noblest families were selected as the objects of Turkish cruelty and vengeance, and hundreds were put to death in the Hippodrome. The city had been sacked—the crescent flag waved upon the ramparts, and the setting sun shone upon the ruined walls and desolated palaces of the city of Constantine the Great. The vesper bell which had summoned Christians to prayer, woke not the echoes of that evening ; but the muezzin cry, strong vigorous and musical, floated over the Bosphorus, summoning the victorious soldiers of the Prophet to prayer.

“In the providence of God,” says an able writer, “the capture of Constantinople by the Turks produced results little dreamed of by its spoilers. It occurred at the most remarkable juncture in the history of Europe. After the slumber of centuries the human mind in the West seemed suddenly to arise to a conscientiousness of its wants and of its resources. The literary remains of classic antiquity were sought after with the utmost avidity ; schools were established for the study of the Greek and the Latin languages ; new discoveries were made, which have since proved fountains of blessing to the whole human race. The compass gave the mastery of the ocean to man ; gunpowder changed the system of war ; oil-painting covered Europe with master-pieces

of art ; paper displaced parchment and papyrus, and printing rendered imperishable the mind-wealth of the past, while it opened up a certain means of communication between the scattered races of the human family, and prepared the instrumentality by which, through the Divine blessing, the word of life was to be diffused throughout the world.

“ Amidst this excitement Constantinople fell, and its destruction tended very materially to hasten the progress of the West in its new career of civilization ; and bore an intimate and clearly defined relation to the deliverance of the human mind from the usurped authority and stultifying bondage of the Church of Rome.

“ Amongst the fugitives that fled from Constantinople into Italy and other countries, many were distinguished scholars. They brought with them a higher knowledge of antiquity, numerous manuscripts, and various appliances for the promotion of the study of ancient art and civilization. The impetus thus given to the Western nations is felt still ; and by no nation more so than by the British. Here we find another striking illustration of the tender care with which God governs our world. All history is but the exposition of the principles upon which He deals with nations and individuals.

“ Mahomed the Second fulfilled his own design, but he accomplished another of which he knew nothing. Oh ! that man would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.”

From the date of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks under Mahomed the Second, Brusa

and Adrianople, the ancient capitals of the Othmans, were gradually stripped of their pristine magnificence, and sank into mere provincial towns—the former now-a-days celebrated for its silk manufactories, which produce the boshias, or handkerchiefs, so much in vogue amongst travellers in Turkey; who, following the wise precaution of the Turks, secure their heads from the vertical rays of the sun upon the rocky summits and barren plains over and through which their journey leads them. To the present day Adrianople is the resort of the sultans upon state occasions—such, for instance, as on their accession, when the new caliph repairs thither to be invested with the insignia of his dignity and faith. At the present crisis Adrianople promises fair to revive into something like its pristine importance, and flourish, not as an isolated point of one faith or of one nation, but as a free city of all creeds and peoples; a city which will be among the first to experience the freedom of commerce.

For this grand object the military and civil service of the Ottoman empire must be completely reorganized; it will otherwise be a physical impossibility for the most incorruptible of pashas and governors to enforce any firman in cities distant from the capital—as for instance, Adana, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus, and Antioch. These places have been too long subjected to the rule of the ayons of the land—a species of feudal barony, descending through successive generations; every ayon exercising kingly power over a certain portion of the peasantry, whether Christians or fellahs, who are compelled to work upon the farms of these oppressive landlords.

Neither governor, cadi, nor counsellor, could effect anything for the Christian ayans, unless supported by competent military force; nor can any good be effected for the Christian residents in towns beyond the immediate influence of European embassies, until the power of the Ayans be weakened and themselves removed from their native towns. But to this we shall recur hereafter:—meanwhile let us see what rose upon the ruins of the once fair city of Constantine the Great.

CHAPTER XIII.

Stamboul—Achmet the First—Description of the city—The Talismanni—Sancta Sophia—Its magnificence—Number of mosques—The seraglio—Its great extent—Statelike mausoleums—The Janicula—The Emperor Valentinian's aqueduct.

From its magnificent ruins there arose, in the course of time, the not less striking and beautiful capital Stamboul; in the construction of which grace and lightness were added to the costliness of its pristine magnificence, by the minarets which, in all quarters of the city rapidly towered up to the sky with gilded crescents glittering at sunrise and sunset, in clear blue sky behind them; all the luxuries and refinements of the crescent cities of the caliphs were now intermingled with the more substantial, but not less splendid remains of the once Christian city. Gradually, however, the use of wood in a great measure superseded stone — elegant light kiosks, and summer-houses, balconies, and Venetian blinds peeping out from the snowy white walls of the houses, and, surrounded by groves of fruit and other trees, presented a delightful and novel aspect from the sea; and in the course of one century, Constantinople had become perfectly Orientalized; whole streets and quarters sprang up, entirely built of wood, which, however elegant, cheap, and commodious, have been and still are, the continual

source of disaster ; owing to the frequent fires, which are sometimes the work of incendiaries, and sometimes the result of carelessness and neglect. Sandys, in his travels in the East, commenced so far back as 1610, gives an excellent account of what Stamboul was at the period of his visit. Achmet the First was then upon the throne ; and, though the etiquette of the court and the manners of the people have greatly improved since that period, the city remains nearly the same ; adopting however such refinement as the progress of civilization, especially within the last half century, has introduced into Turkey. It is minutely described by Sandys, as “walled with brick and stone intermixed orderly, having four-and-twenty gates and posterns, whereof five do regard the land, and nineteen the water ; being about thirteen miles in circumference—than this there is hardly in nature a more delicate object, if beheld from the sea or adjoining mountains ; the lofty and beautiful cyprus trees, so intermixed with the buildings that it seemeth to present a city in a wood to the pleased beholders. Whose seven aspiring heads (for on so many hills, and on no more, do they say it is seated) are most of them crowned with magnificent mosques, all of white marble, round in form and coupled above ; being furnished on the top with gilded spires that reflect the beams they receive with a marvellous splendour, some having two, some four, some six adjoining turrets, exceeding high and exceeding slender, terraced aloft on the outside like the maintop of a ship and that in *several* places *equally distant*.” Let us pause a moment to observe how exact, though peculiar, is this description of a

minaret ; the ships of those days to which he compares them were oddly enough constructed. By "equally distant" I presume him to mean equally high, which they certainly are—many minarets in Syria being much taller than the lower mast of the largest frigate ;—but to return—

"From whence (viz., the balconies of the minarets) the Talismanni with elated voices (for they use no bells), do congregate the people, pronouncing the Arabic sentence, 'La Illa Illella Mahomet, Re sul Allah : '—viz., 'There is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet.' No mosque can have more than one of these turrets, if not built by an emperor ; but that of Sancta Sophia, once a Christian temple (twice burnt, and, happily, in that being so sumptuously re-edified by order of the Emperor Justinian), exceedeth, not only the rest by whose pattern they were framed, but all other fabrics whatsoever throughout the whole universe. A long labour it were to describe it exactly ; and having done, my eyes that have seen it would but condemn my defective relation. The principal part thereof riseth in an oval surrounded with pillars, admirable for their proportion matter and workmanship. Over these are others, through which ample galleries, curiously paved and arched above, have their prospect into the temple, dignified with the presence of Christian emperors at the time of divine service ; ascended by them on horseback—the roof compact and adorned with mosaic painting.—An antique kind of work composed of little square pieces of marble, gilded and coloured according to the place they are to assume in the figure or ground, which set together as

if embossed, present an inexpressible stateliness, and are of a marvellous durance, numbered by Pancirollus among things that are lost; but houses in Italy at this day excel in that kind, yet make the particles of clay, gilt and coloured before they be nealed by the fire. The rest of the church, though of another proportion, doth join to this with a certain harmony. The sides and floor are all flagged with excellent marble, vaulted underneath, and containing large cisterns resplendent with water from an aqueduct. Before the entrance there is a goodly portico; where the Christians that visit it upon curiosity, as well as the Turks, do leave their shoes before they do enter. Within, on the left hand, is a pillar covered with copper, ever sweating (I know not why, unless it being passed through by some conduit), which the Turks wipe off with their *handkerchees*, through a vain superstition persuaded that it is of sacred and sovereign virtue. The doors are curiously cut through and plated, the wood of one of them feigned to be of the ark of Noah, and therefore left bare in some places to be kissed by the devouter people. Evagrius, that lived a thousand years since, affirmeth this temple to have been from east unto west two hundred and threescore feet long, and in height one hundred and fourscore; and Antonius Menavinus, that in the days of Bajazet it contained at once six-and-thirty thousand Turks. Perhaps the ancient fabric, then standing entire, whereof this now remaining was little better than a chancel. Better to be believed than Bellonius, a modern eye-witness, who reports that the doors thereof are in number equal to the days of the year; whereas,

if it hath five, it hath more by one than by me was discovered. Mahomet the Great, upon taking of the city threw down the altars, defaced the images (of admirable workmanship and infinite in number), converting it into a mosque. To every one of these principal mosques belong public bagnios, hospitals, with lodgings for *santons* and ecclesiastical persons, being endowed with competent revenues. The inferior mosques are built for the most part square, being pent-housed, with open galleries, where they accustom to pray at times extraordinary.—There being in all (comprehending Pera, Scutari, and the buildings that border the Bosphorus), about the number of eight thousand.

“But this of Sophia is almost every other Friday frequented by the Sultan; being near unto the forefront of his seraglio, which possesseth the extremest point of the north-east angle, where formerly stood the ancient Byzantium, divided from the rest of the city by a lofty wall containing three miles in circuit, and comprehending goodly groves of cypresses, intermixed with plains, delicate gardens, artificial fountains, all variety of fruit-trees, and what not rare—luxury being the steward, and the treasure inexhaustible. The proud palace of the tyrant doth open to the south, having a lofty gate-house, without lights, on the outside, and engraven with Arabic characters set forth with gold and azure, all of white marble. This leadeth into a spacious court three hundred yards long, and above half as wide. On the left side thereof stands the round of an ancient chapel, containing the arms that were taken from the Grecians in the subversion of this city; and at

the far end of this court a second gate, hung with shields and scimitars, doth lead into another full of tall cypress trees, less large, yet not by much, than the former ; the cloisters about it leaded above, and paved with stone ; the roof supported with columns of marble, having copper chapters and bases. On the left hand the divans are kept, where the pashas of the Porte do administer justice, on that side confined with humble buildings. Beyond which, on the right hand, there is a street of kitchens ; and on the left is the stable, large enough for five hundred horses, where there is now to be seen a mule so admirably streaked and dappled with white and black, and in such due proportion, as if a painter had done it, not to imitate nature, but to please the eye and express his curiosity ; out of this second court there is a passage into the third, not by Christians ordinarily to be entered. Surrounded with the royal buildings, which, though perhaps they come short of the Italian for contrivement and fineness of workmanship, yet not in costly curiousness, matter and amplitude. Between the east wall (which also serveth for a wall to the city) and the water, a sort of terrible ordnance are planted, which threaten destruction to such as by sea shall attempt a violent entry or prohibited passage. And without, on the north side, stands the sultan's cabinet; in form a sumptuous summer-house, having a private passage made for the time of waxed linen from his seraglio, where he often solaceth himself with the various objects of his harem, and from thence takes barges to pass into the delightful places of the adjoining Asia. This palace, however

enlarged by the Ottomans, was first erected by Justinian.

“ ‘ Where floods encountering hollow shores resound,
And straitened seas of two names cut the ground,
The king for his Sophia did erect
A stately palace, sumptuously deckt.
How well (great Rome) did he thy glory raise
Who Europe’s—Asia’s glories now surveys.”

“ Now next to these, Ottoman mausoleums do require their regard, built all of white marble, round in form, coupled on the top, and having stately porches; within each is the tomb of a several sultan, with the tombs of his children, that either have died before him or have after been strangled by their tyrannical brethren, according to their Turkish piety. The tombs are not larger nor longer than fitting the enclosed bodies; each one of stone, higher at the head than feet, and compassed above without other ornament than covers of green, and turbans laid upon the upper ends. At the four corners of those of the sultans there stand four tapers of wax, as long as a thigh, but not lighted. The floors of the monuments are spread with carpets; and some there are that do continually live therein, performing such duties of prayers and lamentations as agreeth to their customs, at certain times besprinkled with the tears of their offspring.

“ The south-east angle of this city is taken up by the seven towers called anciently Janicula, employed as the Tower of London for a storehouse of the sultan’s treasure and munition, being also a prison for capital offenders. We omit to speak of the great

men's seraglios, that of the women belonging to the deceased emperors, and that of the virgins, the Alberges of janissaries, the several seminaries of Spachies and Gramoglans, the Besestans (where finer sorts of commodities are sold), hospitals, markets of men and women, &c., the buildings themselves not meriting particular description; converting our discourse to those few remainders of many antiquities whereof the aqueduct made by the Emperor Valentinian, and retaining his name, doth principally challenge remembrance. This hath his heads near to the Black Sea, not far from a village called Domay Dere (possibly Dongus Dere) of the abundance of wild hogs thereabout—the place being woody and mountainous; where many springs are gathered together, and at sundry places disjointly fall into great round cisterns, from thence conveyed to conjoin with others (among which, as supposed, is the brook Cydarius) led sometimes under the earth, now along the level, then upon mighty arches, over profound valleys, from hill to hill for the space of thirty miles; until arriving at the city, surmounting the same it falleth at length as from a headlong cataract into an ample cistern, supported with near two hundred pillars of marble, and is from thence by conduits conducted unto their public uses."

CHAPTER XIV.

Mahomed the Second—Bajazet the Second—His pilgrimage to Mecca—Corcud—Return of Bajazet—His military successes—Tarsus taken—War with Egypt—Naval victory—Successes in Asia—Attack on Mitylene—"Sheitan Culy"—Civil discord—Battle of Charlo—Ahmed refuses the crown—Treachery of the janissaries.

MAHOMED THE SECOND reigned about fifty years; and dying, was succeeded by his son, Bajazet the Second, who was then resident in Aurasia, whereof he was the governor. Upon receiving a letter from the grand vizier, advising him of his father's death, and calling upon him to return immediately and assume the reins of the empire, he answered, that being under a vow to visit Mecca upon a haj, or holy pilgrimage, rather than revoke his sacred and deliberate resolve he would forfeit, not the throne of Othman alone, but the empire of the whole world. Lest however the interests of the empire should suffer from this determination, he authorized the recognition of his son Corcud as sovereign during his absence. Bajazet then set out for Mecca; and during his absence his son was duly acknowledged as sultan-regent of the Ottoman empire. Upon his return from the pilgrimage, and whilst yet under the influence of its enthusiasm, or (what is more probable) desirous of testing the affec-

tion of his son and the loyalty of his subjects, he sent letters to his son and to the chief ministers at Constantinople, desiring the former to keep the empire, and the latter to continue obedience to him as their lawful and confirmed sovereign; and praying them to suffer himself to retire into privacy, and pass the remainder of his days a recluse at Nicæa. Upon this occasion, Corcud manifested his wisdom not less than his piety in the reception of his father's tempting offer; for the chief vizier, having obtained an audience of the youthful regent, addressed him as follows:—"Your majesty's resplendent father by the divine aid is returned in safety from Mecca, and we hear is arrived at Aleppo; which we thought it our duty to tell your majesty, in order that we might know your pleasure concerning him and his arrival." To this Corcud replied—"The services you have done the empire ought justly to be so many testimonies of your fidelity; but ere you endeavoured to shake mine, you should have considered that my father did not absolutely and for ever resign the crown to me, but only commanded me to rule in his stead till his return from a pilgrimage, undertaken for his own and the public welfare. This have I done, because I would not disobey a father's commands. Let him, being returned, reassume his own empire; and I, resigning the sceptre, will eternally profess myself both his son and his vassal." After this burst of filial piety, Corcud, hearing of his father's approach, crossed the Bosphorus, attended by the viziers and all the civil and military officers of the state; and meeting Bajazet somewhere near Nicæa, surrendered into his hands the supreme

power, saying, as he did so, "This is indeed my father, the only governor and emperor of the Ottomans: I have awhile been his shadow; but now that the light appears, the shadow vanishes." Arriving at Constantinople, Bajazet was formally invested with the crown, in the year of the Hegira 886. Having quelled certain domestic troubles, Bajazet looked abroad for the still further aggrandizement of his dominions; and at the head of a powerful army wrested from Moldavia, then governed by Stephanus, many important cities on the Danube, and also Akkerman on the Euxine. Hereby he effectually suppressed the pirates who then infested the Black Sea, besides gaining considerable influence over a province that had heretofore been proof against invasion. In the same year his forces, under Beglerbeg, an Asiatic general, crossed the Taurus at, as is supposed, the almost impregnable pass known as Kulek Bogas, and which was afterwards strongly fortified by the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha; and took the then celebrated cities of Tarsus, Karsunly, and Kosunly. The first of these, noted as the birthplace of the apostle St. Paul, and once a city of no mean repute in Cilicia, still retains a certain importance as a commercial mart. The two latter, retaining only their ancient names, have sunk into insignificant villages. About this period Gedyk Ahmed Pasha, a rebel general, residing at Adrianople, was put to death on a charge of high treason; and the King of Egypt commenced those wars with the Ottomans which terminated in the subjugation of all Egypt. Long had the respective sultans regarded each other as implacable

foes ; but a mutual dread had heretofore restrained either from a breach of the forms to be observed amongst nominal allies. At last an opportunity of quarrel presented itself to Bajazet. A petty prince in Asia Minor, named Alaidenlet (Alai Dowlet), desiring to encrease his provinces by some of the bordering tracts, attacked the Egyptian Mameluke troops, and was by them ignominiously defeated. Thereupon he sought the assistance of Bajazet, proffering to render his territories as a fief to the Ottoman crown. The Sultan of Constantinople readily concurred. The Egyptian troops were routed, and among several important cities captured from them in Asia Minor, were Kaissariah, Antob, and Kulek, besides Adana, the present capital of Asia Minor. Hostilities were for some time carried on between Turkey and Egypt, by Alai Dowlet for the Sultan of Constantinople, and by Kiorshah on behalf of the Prince of Egypt. Weary of this petty warfare, Bajazet recalled his troops, pretended to enter into a treaty of peace with Egypt, and the next year unexpectedly invaded some of its provinces. The King of Egypt is said to have died from vexation at their loss.

In this year, ambassadors, soliciting his protection, reached the court of Bajazet from the oppressed Moslems in Spain. This he readily accorded ; and the next summer, a powerful Turkish fleet was sent into the Mediterranean under the command of Admiral Kamil-Ali-Pasha ; who is said to have encountered and entirely defeated the Christian fleets, laying waste the island of Malta, and plundering the shores of Italy and Spain ;

after which it returned laden with spoil to Constantinople. Flushed with this success, Bajazet resolved to try his sword upon the Christians. He dispatched an army into Croatia and Bosnia, under a general named Yahooob, who vanquished a powerful Christian force, taking many nobles prisoners; amongst these, the famous Count John Torquatius (though, according to certain historians, this unfortunate general died on the field from exhaustion). A series of victories in Asia ensued; and the inhabitants of Rhodes were defeated with great slaughter by the Turkish general Nussur Beg. Three years after this last event, Bajazet marched into Greece, where he acquired several cities of great importance. The French assailed the island of Mitylene, with a powerful fleet; but upon fifty Turkish galleys coming to the assistance of the inhabitants, the European besiegers withdrew. Bajazet and his troops, now weary with conquest, rested awhile on their arms and devoted themselves to the occupations and pleasures of citizens; but, as the learned old historian Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, quaintly observes: "How dangerous to the empire was repose, the transactions about this time in Asia plainly demonstrate." "*Sheitan Culy* (The devil's slave), a magician, full of diabolical arts, had lurked some time near the town of Beg Basar, and finding the people after a ten years' peace greedy of novelties, in the year 916 of the Hegira, vends his long meditated heresies on the Koran, supports it with miracles, and so bewitches the credulous vulgar, that in a short time he is able to bring an army of

followers into the field. Whereupon Bajazet instantly sends Ali Pasha with forces to disperse these assemblies; who, vanquishing the impostor in battle, forced him to fly to Ismail Shah (King of Persia, the fierce and implacable enemy of the Ottomans), where meeting with more liberty to spread his poison, he turns the king with the whole nation from the true paths of the Koran." This was perhaps the first division in the sects of Mahometanism in Persia. But to return to Bajazet.

Bajazet now became infirm in years, and a great sufferer from the gout; and feeling the concerns of the empire too heavy a pressure upon his sinking health, he sought to abdicate the throne in favour of his eldest son, Ahmed. In this plan, however, he was for a time frustrated; his younger son, Selim, hearing of his intentions, assembled a force at Trebizond, of which place he was the governor, and marched upon Adrianople; but lest the people of the provinces through which he marched should be alienated from him by his unfilial conduct, he caused it to be proclaimed, that he was only on his way to pay his respects to his father; but this falsehood prevailed not on the old and experienced mind of Bajazet. Selim advanced upon Constantinople, at the head of twenty thousand men; hoping to win over the janissaries to his cause. In this also he failed; for Bajazet at the head of an army encountered him at Charlo, a village not far from Stamboul; and after a long and doubtful battle, the disobedient son was put to flight. Bajazet forbade his troops following the offender; hoping, as he said, that his son would lay aside his fierce-

ness, return to a sound mind, and be convinced that God approves not the rebellion of child against parent. His clemency alone enabled the fugitive to escape, and reach Varna, on the Black Sea; where he embarked, and sailed for Kaffa on the Crimea.

Bajazet now hoped to meet no further obstacles to his purpose of retiring into Magnesia, there to pass the residue of his life in such peace as weakness and age might allow. He accordingly dispatched intelligence of Selim's defeat to his eldest son, Ahmed, who was then governor of Konia or Iconium; summoning him to come and assume the title of sultan. Ahmed, however, declined the tempting call; not that he feared his brother, but because he knew that the janissaries and the most influential parties in the empire had long been favourably disposed towards Selim; and therefore he could expect to meet with nothing but opposition strife and peril. This reply greatly perplexed the sultan. He was determined that for his disobedience Selim should be excluded from the throne, yet he hesitated to revoke his long avowed purpose of abdication; it being a received principle that whatsoever had once been said or done by a caliph could in nowise be retracted. In this dilemma Bajazet privately suggested to his ministers that they should petition him to alter his intention. These men, however, dealt perfidiously with Bajazet; for they encouraged the illwill of the janissaries, who were weary of too protracted a peace, and longed for a more ambitious prince, such as Selim, to lead them to victory and plunder. Accordingly, private letters were dispatched

to this discomfited prince, assuring him that they were unanimously resolved to salute him as emperor; and thus Bajazet was again disappointed, and brought to know, in the language of an old eastern writer, "that crowns are conferred by God and not by man."

CHAPTER XV.

Caution of Selim — Message of Bajazet — Selim's reply — Its plausibility — Bajazet's dream — His abdication — He is poisoned — Ahmed disputes the throne — He is defeated and strangled — Corcud defeated — His execution — Invasion of Persia — Council of War — The Defterdar's opinion — Battle with the Persians.

SELIM, remembering the perils from which he had so recently escaped, and unable to distinguish between friend and foe, received the missive with much suspicion; telling the conspirators that although far from undervaluing their magnificent proffer, and ever ready to shed his blood in the defence of his country and sovereign, he was most reluctant to do aught that was contrary to his father's pleasure; the more especially as he had been taught by recent experience that the hand of God was against him. This answer far from satisfied the janissaries, who repeated their instances by the hands of Zemberekchi Bashi, formerly superintendent of the battering rams (the word "Zemberek" signifying an engine to throw stones, and "Bashi," head or president). This man, on arriving at Kaffa, informed Selim that the soldiers had all bound themselves by an oath, despite his father's will, to see him seated upon the throne. Persuaded at length by these promises, Selim, accompanied by only a

few attendants, proceeded to Constantinople ; and on his arrival there he was received with every demonstration of joy by the whole body of the janissaries.

Bajazet was greatly troubled at this intelligence ; and perceiving the utter helplessness of his position, he endeavoured by gentle means to soften down the anger of his unnatural son. After a lapse of eight days, he sent for his prime vizier, Coja Mustapha Pasha, and bid him in his name say to his son, " If my son desires to visit me and obtain my benediction, why does he delay ? but if under these proceedings he only conceals impiety, why does he vainly spend the time ? " The vizier executed his commission, and when he had done so, received from Selim the following reply :—" Tell my father I will in no case disobey his orders, and am ready to go wherever he shall send me, if he will but please to satisfy me in certain doubts concerning the present administration of affairs. Sofi Ogli, or Ismael, king of Persia, a man of no account, has risen up in the east and laid waste the Ottoman empire, carrying his arms as far as Cæsarea, whilst your majesty, instead of defending the provinces, is a quiet spectator of his victories. On the other hand, a Circassian of obscure birth and name, who ought to be prostrate under the Moslem sword, has made himself master not only of Egypt, but of many other countries in Syria formerly subject to our dominion, and holds them even to this day, as if they were his rightful inheritance. Under such contempt the majesty of the empire, revered under our ancestors, is fallen ; and they who formerly, in the name of Bajazet, were feared as invincible by the

neighbouring nations, are in the same illustrious name scorned and insulted, as men inactive and effeminate. Where is now the honour of the Ali-Othman sceptre? where the military discipline? where the zeal of propagating the law? where the arts of government? Is it thus that the empire is enlarged? is it thus that we deal with our enemies? is it thus that the ardour of our hitherto unconquered soldiery is preserved? Assuredly it was not thus that our glorious ancestors established the throne, or extended the bounds of the empire. These things duly weighed, let my father himself judge whether they, who by their concurrence or their negligence have been the cause of these mismanagements, can escape punishment; for unless a timely remedy be applied, we shall be obliged to ascribe the almost unavoidable ruin of our empire to our own sloth, and not to the valour of our enemies."

On receiving this reply, Bajazet is said to have exclaimed, "I too plainly see my son's business is not to visit his father, but right or wrong to seize the empire. However, that it is designed for him by heaven, I am convinced by my last night's dream of my crown being placed by the soldiers on Selim's head. Wherefore, since I deem it impious either to attempt or act anything contrary to kismet, I lay down the ensigns of government, and will and command Selim to be by all saluted emperor."

Bajazet then acquainted his son with his intention of quitting the capital; but the latter entreated him to remain in the new palace, asserting that with the empire the old one was quite good enough for him; but Bajazet refused, stating that *one scabbard*

could not hold two swords. Accordingly the old man quitted the city, so often the scene of his pleasures, so many years his throne and his capital. He was accompanied to a bridge, two miles distant, by all the pomp of royalty. His treacherous son and equally base ministers here took leave of him with all apparent solicitude for the old man's health; and to provide for this the better, a vagrant Jew was attached to Bajazet's suite in the capacity of body physician, with private instructions from Selim regarding his father's ailments; and so well did the Jew carry out these, that Bajazet had not proceeded farther than forty miles from Constantinople, before his journey was stopped by poison, and his body was brought back and buried with great state and solemnity. So died Bajazet, in the sixty-second year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign.

A strange peculiarity is related of Bajazet. He is said, during the whole course of his life, to have carefully preserved all the dust which in his expeditions had adhered to his clothes, and which on his return home he was wont to have carefully brushed off, reserved in a relic box; and in his dying hour he is said to have conjured the bystanders to cause all this dust to be made into a large brick, to be placed in his monument under his right arm, instead of, as is customary in such interments, a cushion. This was owing to his belief in a prophecy which runs to this effect:—"If any man's feet have been sprinkled with the dust in the path of the Lord, him will Allah preserve from Jehanum."

None of Selim's brothers disputed his accession, save only Ahmed, who had already been the unin-

tentional cause of Selim's discomfiture and flight to Varna and Kaffa. Aware of his brother's disposition, and not knowing how or where to escape, he determined to vanquish him or to perish in the attempt. Moreover, he had hopes that out of the many courtiers and ministers, there might still remain some ready to avenge his murdered father, and to vindicate his own right to the throne. He accordingly prepared to cross over into Europe; but his purpose was speedily communicated to Selim, through the spies whom he had engaged in that vile service and liberally remunerated. He hastily levied troops, and crossed the Bosphorus before Ahmed could mature his arrangements. The unhappy prince, too late convinced of his want of caution and secrecy, was determined to stand the hazard of the conflict. He encountered his brother's forces at a place called Yengi Chier, and led on his handful of troops in person; but Selim's overwhelming numbers swept everything before them. The few followers of Ahmed were speedily routed. Most of them chose to die where they stood—scarcely one attempted to fly. Ahmed himself was secured alive, and being immediately strangled, his remains were conveyed to Brusa for interment. Having added this fratricide to the murder of his father, Selim suffered his men to rest and refresh themselves a few days, and then led them against his brother Corcud, the virtuous prince who was regent during his father's pilgrimage to Mecca. Corcud, who had hitherto chosen to avoid dispute and bloodshed, awaiting tranquilly the result, now that his submission was disregarded, and his life sought after for

no past or present offence, determined to act upon the defensive. He accordingly met Selim with such troops as he could muster ; but Selim's disciplined army was vastly superior, and required little or no effort to scatter the forces of Corcud. Corcud himself fled unattended, wandering alone in the night through byways and deserts, and by day concealing himself in dark caverns. Selim, fearing that he might obtain shelter with some powerful prince, to whom he could reveal the weak points of Turkish discipline, caused closer search to be made after the fugitive. A soldier discovered the unhappy prince concealed in some mountain recess ; and dragging him from his hiding-place, brought him to his unnatural brother, who, without suffering Corcud to utter a single word, consigned him to the executioner.

Selim now began to think upon foreign conquest. Among his enemies the chief, doubtless, was the Sultan of Egypt, with whom after many contests his father had established a temporary peace ; but he could not venture upon Egypt until he had subjugated Persia ; and in Sofi Ogli, (or Ismail Sofi,) of whom he had spoken so slightly in his memorable reply to his father's last message, Selim had a fierce and formidable enemy. He accordingly led a numerous army against the Persian possessions in the Taurus. Here Selim after one or two engagements made the unwelcome discovery that the Persian forces were not a whit inferior to his own in valour number or discipline. The viziers and ministers, with whom he held a council of war, advised that the troops should not be over-fatigued by rapid marches, and

that, instead of attacking the city before which they were then encamped, the battle should be deferred till the next day. Selim alone differed from this opinion: "your counsel," said he, "is no less advantageous to the enemy than to us, for are not they equally fatigued with their march? Wherefore I do not see why we should allow them time to prepare and the better resist our attack. Now, indeed, do I perceive our error, in not having attacked them at first sight, and in consulting before instead of after the battle about refreshing our troops."

With these words he broke up the council, ordering them to prepare for immediate battle. Meanwhile he sent for his Defterdar Peri Pasha (literally, from the Persian, book-keeper), who had not been summoned to the council and knew not their opinion. On the arrival of this Peri Pasha, he bade him give his judgment on the matter expressed by the others—and this it was:—"The reputation" (said he) "of the Ottoman arms is not so to be exposed that the eyes of our enemies, accustomed to the sight of us, may learn first to bear and then to condemn our valour. It is a good omen to attack the enemy at first sight, and fall upon them before they can open their eyes. Besides, if a battle be not hastened, the delay may breed a sedition in the army; for since many who serve under the Turkish banners have long contracted friendship and affinity with the Persians, if time be given for mutual intercourse, the unstable vulgar may be induced, if not openly to revolt, yet certainly to fight with a double heart; and, as the proverb says, 'with the tips of their fingers only.'" Selim, when

he had heard this, cried out aloud,—“So, in my whole army, with much difficulty have I found one well-advised man, whose opinion shall more weigh with me than the heads hearts and hands of so many thousands. Assuredly, to my own and the empire’s great detriment has this man been hitherto uninvested with the office of chief vizier.” The astounded Defterdar was of course highly delighted. The battle began with a cannonade of great guns, fired by European artillerymen—that is, Turks from European Turkey; but from want of skilful gunnery, all the balls hit upon an intervening mound, and then bounding off, flew far over the heads of the enemy. But the Asiatic forces moved upon the Persians in close files, drawing their guns after them, headed by the noted Sinan Pasha, their general. So soon as they had come within the proper range, Sinan ordered the foremost ranks to wheel to the left and right, leaving an open space between them for the working of their guns; the fearful effect of the first cannonade from this quarter was such that—to use the Turkish metaphor—the Persians, who before the first fire resembled a long thick impervious wall, were after that discharge like a wall intersected with streets and lanes—so effectually had the work of havoc been effected.

CHAPTER XVI.

Great victory over the Persians—Plunder of the Persian camp—
Surrender of Tybris—Captives sent to Constantinople—
Further successes—The Kara Mid—Their stratagem—Mes-
sage to the Sultan—Treaty with the Sultan—His letter—
Strange omen—The Persians routed—Surrender of Mardun
and Musul.

THE enemy's ranks were broken—the signal was given to close with them sword in hand—and the encounter was so fierce that one-half of the left wing of the Persians were slain and the remainder completely routed. The Shah, seeing the great danger to which his left wing was exposed, quitted the division which he in person commanded, and hastening to the succour of his discomfited troops, bravely repulsed the Turks with great slaughter. Selim, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing hard pressed by numbers, placed 13,000 janissaries on their flank; with orders first to annoy the enemy by ball practice at a distance, and then to attack them sword in hand, so that by their bearing the brunt of the battle the others might have time to rally. His orders were promptly executed; and the Persians so fiercely attacked that they slowly gave ground, and eventually took to flight. The Persian right wing, which still sustained a heavy charge of the Turks, perceiving the confusion

amongst their countrymen, lost heart, and also fled. Thus everywhere shamefully put to flight, the Persians were by the Turkish soldiers slain or taken prisoners. The Shah himself only escaped destruction by the swiftness of his charger, and by the favour of a dark night; which put an end to the pursuit. The slaughter was immense, and quarter was neither asked nor given. We must remember that the Turks entertained on this occasion more than the ordinary vindictive feeling which exists in the breasts of hostile armies on the battle-field. Fanatics in religion, their animosity was unbounded when they remembered that the Persians had once, like themselves, professed the Mahometan faith; but had departed therefrom, and become proselytes to the doctrine of the man whom they called the Sheitan Culy, whose history we have already recounted. Moreover, Selim had an implacable hatred towards the Shah, who had in a manner trespassed upon the territories which had once been included among the dominions of his ancestors: mercy was, therefore, in no wise to be expected; the fight had been courageously sustained on both sides; the Persians had at last yielded and fled, and two of their bravest generals were slain in the pursuit. This victory would have been much greater had not Selim thought it dangerous to pursue the fugitives through difficult and narrow places during the dark hours of the night, for the enemy might rally and annoy them excessively in passes best known to themselves. Accordingly he ordered a retreat to be sounded; and in returning plundered the Persian camp, where he found an immense treasure and rich furniture, the

property of the shah. After this, the lucky Deftedar who had advised the immediate attack of the Persians was upon the spot promoted to the rank of vizier and duly proclaimed as such. Selim then ordered that no Nisa or Sabin captives should be detained, but caused them to be liberated immediately, saying, "It is unjust to make captives of men who are *sunni* (or orthodox Mahometans;) the victory is sufficient, and the vanquished are rather to be treated with clemency than cruelty. As for the shah, he may learn by this prelude of victory what success the Ottoman arms will hereafter be crowned with." The day after the great battle the inhabitants of Tybris, finding themselves deserted by him whom they had hitherto considered as their lawful sovereign, knew not what to do, or how to secure the clemency of the victor. They had, however, no alternative save that of rendering up the city keys; which they accordingly did, suing at the same time for mercy: this was accorded them, and the Turks entered the town, there resting for a few days. The further progress of the Turkish army was impeded by the scarcity of corn, the enemy having laid waste the whole of the neighbouring countries; consequently the forces were ordered into the nearest winter quarters, so as to be ready for action in the ensuing spring. Meanwhile, Selim sent to Constantinople as a trophy of his conquest, Hussein, son of Bicara, with many other notable captives. Experience had taught him how fruitless were expeditions in these cold and mountainous regions, if not undertaken at the first opening of spring; at that season therefore he led his army

out of Amasia, and, ere the Persians imagined that any troops would be hardy enough to attack them, the Turks had besieged and taken two of their towns. Meeting so slight resistance, Selim thought it needless to employ a large army, and sent a part of his forces against Alidoulet, son of Sulcadar, he being supposed to favour the Persians. This force was commanded by Ferhad Pasha, who completely routed his army, took him prisoner, cut off his head and sent it to Selim. His dominions were given to Ali Bey, a Persian refugee, and Selim returned to Constantinople. The ensuing year offered to the Ottoman empire a fresh opportunity of enlargement. The Kara Midd, a people inhabiting a country between Alipha and Kan in Asia, known to modern geographers as Diarbekir, governed by a Karachan or deputy of the king of Persia, had been for some time desiring to throw off the Persian yoke; which not being strong enough to effect by force, they adopted the following stratagem. They fabricated a letter as from the king of Persia to his deputy at Diarbekir, which was delivered to that officer by a horseman covered with dust and bearing every token of a hasty journey:—"Thou who art deputy, the moment our mandate shall reach thee know that we have resolved to send thee with thy whole army against the Ennayes, who are about to invade these parts; wherefore, with as great preparation as is possible, march out of the city within five days and pitch thy tents in the place called Kava-Kilder, in order to be ready on our second notice to proceed whither we shall require thee." The deputy made all haste to obey his royal master's

commands ; and, departing with all his forces from the city accompanied by his family, encamped at the place indicated in the fictitious mandate. The citizens, when they imagined him too far distant to support the few soldiers whom he had left behind him, closed the gates and put the garrison to the sword ; sending a messenger to the Turkish sultan and promising to surrender the city if he would only grant their request by appointing as their governor Prince Mahomet Bey, one of their own countrymen. This proposition perfectly fell in with the views of the aspiring Selim ; but, aware of the proverbial deceitfulness of the Persians, he deferred his answer for the space of a year. In this interval there were daily fierce skirmishes between the outwitted deputy and the crafty citizens ; till at length a nobleman of the country, who possessed upwards of three hundred villages, after several messages to Selim, succeeded in obtaining from him what the citizens had so long and earnestly desired. The conditions of this treaty being ratified on both sides, Selim created Mahomet Bey supreme commander of Diarbekir, allowing him out of the imperial treasury an annual pension of forty yuk, on the sole condition of his fidelity to the Ottoman sway. But Selim was not so unskilled in warfare as to imagine that the deputy would submit to this violation of his rights ; accordingly the ensuing year, the sultan dispatched a considerable body of troops to the assistance of Mahomet Bey, sending at the same time a letter which might excite in him a loyal and honourable spirit. The letter was as follows :—“ When I made thee prince of Diarbekir, I expected much greater


service from thee than I have as yet received: why standest thou idle? wherefore is the late deputy's insolence unchastised? why dost thou not prove thy bravery by deeds worthy of a generous mind, to my joy, to thine enemy's sorrow, and to thine own glory? Hereby thou wilt gain my highest favour, confound thine adversaries with fear, and be invested with due honours." Stirred by this reproof, and accounting it a grievous pain to be accused of indolence by one to whom he owed his life and fortune, Mahomet determined, without waiting for the imperial forces to march with the army he had raised in that province against the Persians. While thus employed, the enemy suddenly appeared in sight; whereupon he ordered his men to be drawn up in battle-array, though yet uncertain whether he should attack them forthwith or delay until the summer. The invading commander entertained precisely the same doubts; and now, as is usual with all oriental historians, who cannot record a fact without mixing it up with a miracle, we are told, that whilst the respective armies stood opposite to each other an omen decided the fate of the day. Suddenly a vast cloud of white and of red butterflies appeared high in the air, and flying over the space occupied by the contending parties, placed themselves in a central position; and then, dividing into separate parties, the white butterflies flew towards the Turks and the red ones towards the Persians; presently the white charged the red, and after a fierce conflict vanquished them. The sword could hardly have effected what these insects produced on the minds of both sides. The Turks,

inspired by the good omen, vigorously charged the Persians ; while these, struck with superstitious dismay, fled in all directions, leaving the field covered with their slain. Many chiefs were taken, and amongst them the unfortunate deputy ; he was immediately beheaded by order of Mahomet, who sent this first trophy of his success to Sultan Selim. This great and unexpected victory seemed to Mahomet an augury of his future success. Accordingly, without loss of time, he besieged the strong city of Mardun, in Mesopotamia. This place, both by its situation and the eminent valour of its inhabitants, would have been impregnable ; had not a pestilence broken out, and, in addition to famine, compelled the inhabitants to yield both themselves and their city. A few days after this, Mahomet, flushed with success, marched upon Musul, took it in the first assault, and destroyed it with fire and sword. These two cities were considered the bulwarks of the country ; and their fall was only the prelude to the annexation of several minor towns and cities to the Ottoman empire. Mahomet thinking he had effaced the reproach cast upon him by Selim's last letter, dispatched his brother to report his proceedings ; whereupon Selim highly extolled Mahomet in the presence of all his court, and sent back his brother laden with honours and riches.

CHAPTER XVII.

Invasion of Syria—Quarrel with the Sultan of Egypt—Battle of Aleppo—Defeat of the Egyptians—Surrender of Aleppo—Damascus—Monument to Musa—Court etiquette—March of the Turks—Cruelty at Gaza—Triumphant return—Death of Selim—Insurrection in Syria—Siege of Aleppo—The insurgents defeated.

THE victories which had attended Mahomet Bey's expedition only added fresh fuel to Selim's ambition. Heading a numerous army he quitted Constantinople, and marching into Syria, encamped close to Aleppo. His project was the subversion of the whole of the Persian empire, or failing in this, to so weaken it as utterly to prevent any troubles or commotions from that quarter. Herein he was frustrated by Gauri, the king of Egypt, appearing with a considerable army in the neighbourhood of Aleppo; and by the arrival of ambassadors, tendering to Selim his aid against the Persians. But, whether intentionally or accidentally, the Egyptians grossly insulted the Turks by plundering a caravan of camels which was conveying provisions for the Turkish troops; and this act so incensed Selim, that he determined without hesitation to relinquish the expedition against Persia, and at once assume the offensive against Egypt. To confirm him in this resolution, the pashas of Damascus and Aleppo, who were invete-



rate enemies of the Egyptian sultan, wrote to Selim, complaining of the ingratitude of Sultan Gauri, whom they had served with fidelity, but who had requited their fidelity with every act of oppression; and tendering to Selim their services, under the proviso that he would guarantee to each of them his pashalik. To this Selim agreed; and moreover conveyed to them such instructions as he hoped would tend to a speedy termination of the pending struggle. They received this in good part, and urged Gauri at once to commence the battle. They affected to ridicule the valour of the Turks, and to vaunt their own prowess, until they persuaded the Egyptian sultan to march at once to the attack; and Selim, having due information of their movements, arranged his troops to the best advantage upon the outskirts of Aleppo. The Egyptian forces marched in regular order until within bow-shot of the Turks; when with loud exclamations they rushed upon them in overwhelming masses, and notwithstanding a stout resistance, forced them to give way. Elated with the hope of an easy and speedy victory, great indeed was the surprise of the Circassian soldiers when they saw the two pashas, one of whom supported the left, and the other the right wing of the Egyptian standard, go over to the enemy. But they were too brave to retreat, even though greatly outnumbered; and so quick were the movements of these mameluke troops, that even with such unexpected odds against them, victory would have declared in their favour, had not Selim ordered the cavalry to halt, and sending the janissaries to the van, commanded them

to pour volley upon volley upon the enemy: this sudden movement quite palsied the mamelukes, and taking advantage of this, the Turks rushed in sword in hand, and obtained a complete victory. The mamelukes were routed, and the Sultan Gauri performed prodigies of valour, rushing through the thickest of the carnage, dealing out death at every blow—he himself receiving not a single wound; till exhausted and heart-broken he fell dead among the slaughtered heap of friends and foes.

After the victory, the inhabitants of Aleppo went out in procession to meet Selim, and to deliver to him the keys of the city—these he received with the greatest courtesy, investing the more distinguished among them with robes of honour. On the following Friday he attended the mosque; and, after his name had been included in the prayers, ordered the reader to be clothed with golden robes before he quitted the pulpit—this, and his acts of profuse liberality to all classes, secured for the crafty and ambitious sultan a world-wide fame. All the surrounding towns and villages voluntarily sent in their submission; and when he quitted Aleppo, and had arrived near Damascus, the chief inhabitants came out to receive him with every demonstration of respect and submission. Selim was a skilful politician, a close reader of the thoughts and sentiments of those he had to deal with: proverbially, the natives of Damascus are the most bigoted in all Syria—so the better to entangle their affections, he occupied himself entirely in acts of devotion and charity. It is said that during this visit Selim discovered the spot where the renowned

old general Musa Ibn Nussur was interred—and that there then being simply a stone placed over his grave, inscribed, “ *This is the monument of the conqueror of Spain,*” Selim caused the grass and weeds to be cleared away, and erected a splendid monument over the spot, known to the present day as the monument of Muhyaden. Selim then quitted Damascus on his way to Grand Cairo. The army was encamped at a small village called Khan Yunis, which to this day forms the boundary between Egypt and Palestine. Here an incident occurred which may give some idea of the etiquette practised in the court of Selim : even when under canvass it was an indispensable rule, that every person should know and keep in his respective place. One evening Selim was conversing familiarly with some of his viziers and officers of state, when one amongst them, emboldened by the tone of conversation, asked the emperor when he thought they would arrive at the outskirts of Cairo. The emperor sternly replied—“ We indeed shall arrive whensoever it shall so please God, but for thee it is my pleasure that thou stay here ”—and the head of the offender was instantly stricken off. Having reached Khan Yunis before besieging Gaza and Jerusalem, Selim must have either taken shipping at Sidon or Tyre, and landed at Al-Arish, to the southward, or have kept entirely upon the borders of the desert. However this may be, from Khan Yunis he marched upon Gaza, where being reminded that Kudis-El-Scherif was not far off—the site of so many great miracles, and the theme and home of so many prophets—he felt a great desire to visit this holy city :

accompanied by only a few favourites and attendants, he set out from Gaza for Jerusalem, going by way of the river where St. Philip is supposed to have baptized the eunuch, and which is the shortest and most convenient route between these two celebrated cities. The sultan remained only three days at Jerusalem, during which period he visited the Mosque of Omar, and performed such devout ceremonies as pilgrims, both Mahometan and Christian, think indispensable on visiting Jerusalem. Returning to Gaza, the Turkish forces resumed their march to Cairo : during his absence the people of Gaza, observing that Selim had not left any garrison at two intervening towns which he had taken on the march to Cairo, and imagining that therefore it was his intention not to return that way, slew the sick and wounded Turks that had been left behind, together with the physician. But for this deed they met a fearful retribution. After the subjugation of Egypt (an account of which has been given in the chapter dedicated to the decline of the Saracenic power in Egypt), marching through Gaza, back into Palestine, Selim caused every creature to be put to the sword, without distinction of sex or age ; leaving Gaza a desolation indeed, and his newly acquired provinces to be governed by the two pashas to whom he had promised them for life. His entry into Constantinople on his return from this expedition seems to have resembled more the magnificence and worship attributed to heathen deities than to an earthly potentate ; and so inflated was Selim with pride, so assured of

his infallibility, that he submitted to the eulogies of the basest sycophants, and accepted titles and appellations appropriated to Divinity alone—when, as in punishment for the shameful blasphemy, this conqueror and sultan of immense domains, including some of the fairest portions of the earth, was stricken with a loathsome and afflicting disease which distorted his whole frame; and after forty days and nights of intense suffering, the mighty Selim was consigned to that tomb whither his father and his brothers had preceded him by his own murderous will. Selim was only fifty years old at his death, and had reigned little more than nine years—a brief space of time, but occupied with surpassing enterprise and uninterrupted victory.

Suliman Canuni, or, the Founder of Laws, succeeded. Scarcely had he received the sceptre, ere he was called to quell a formidable insurrection in Syria. Gazelibey, the governor of Damascus and other provinces, he who had betrayed the unfortunate Egyptian sultan, hearing of Selim's death, and presuming that all the courage and strength of the Ottoman empire had descended into his grave, revolted from his fidelity, resolving to assume to himself the independent sovereignty of all those fertile districts whereof he had long been governor. Accordingly, he assembled all the forces which he could muster; and, skirting the desert, so suddenly besieged Aleppo, that the express Tartar despatched with the tidings had barely time to escape falling into his hands. Caya Mustapha

Pasha was then governor of Aleppo; and, urged by his spirit and eloquence, the citizens repulsed the rebels until such time as succour arrived from Constantinople. Suliman dispatched such troops as were ready under Ferhah Pasha with instructions to augment their forces all along the march through Asia Minor. Meanwhile the ardour of the besieging rebel was somewhat cooled down by the resistance he met from the garrison of Aleppo; and yet more when his scouts brought information of the large body advancing from Constantinople. Immediately he raised the siege, and retired to Mustaba, a village near Damascus, which he strongly fortified; counting on the imperial troops being compelled by the advanced period of the year and by the great scarcity of corn to retrace their steps; when he could successfully resume the siege. But in these calculations Gazelibey was doomed to disappointment; for no sooner had Ferhah Pasha reached Aleppo than he determined to follow up the revolter. Nobody in Aleppo imagined that Gazelibey would be hardy enough to await the coming of the sultan's troops. Ferhah Pasha, however, pushed forward, and attacked his fortifications, meeting with an obstinate resistance. The conflict lasted through ten hours, the assailants having the advantage in numbers, the defenders in position. At length the Turks entered the entrenchments, and when the last breach had been scaled, the battle was soon ended; for the whole of the rebel army were, with their commander, put to the sword. When the victorious troops had rested themselves awhile, Ferhah

Pasha marched them into comfortable quarters in Damascus; where having made all necessary arrangements, he placed Alias Pasha at the head of the government, and returned with his forces to Stamboul.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Invasion of Hungary—Military successes—Turkish treachery—Siege of Rhodes—Mustapha—His ambitious scheme—Is taken and executed—Second attack on Hungary—Defeat and death of the King of Hungary—Cabyzi Ajam—His execution—Slaughter of the Albanians—Outrage at Aleppo.

HAVING established peace in Syria, the active and ambitious sultan resolved to turn his arms against Europe, and to extend his dominion as far to the westward of Constantinople as it then reached to the east. The better to accomplish this, so that he might not be disturbed by commotions elsewhere, he left Ferhah Pasha with a good part of his army, to watch over the peace of Asia, while ordering a fleet to the Archipelago, he sent fifty ships of war to convey four hundred transports laden with provisions for the Hungarian expedition. Meanwhile, he himself left Constantinople at the head of a considerable army, with the purpose of subduing all Hungary; but previously he sent orders to the governor of Simendica to immediately besiege Buda with all available forces, so as to hinder provisions or men being thrown in until he himself should arrive, or send him assistance. This was accordingly done; and Mustapha Pasha and Achmed Pasha were sent to support him. These two generals, to ingratiate themselves with their royal

master, were incessant in their efforts to batter down and undermine the walls, renewing their assaults with fresh energy every hour; so that the inhabitants, were at length wearied into submission; and this famous bulwark of Hungary, which, often as it had been attacked, had never been subdued, fell at last into the power of the Turks, and threw open to them a high road to Buda, the metropolis of the kingdom. Meanwhile, Solyman himself had not been idle, taking by assault or by capitulation several important towns, overrunning the adjacent country, and laying the foundation of future war beyond the ancient bounds of the Ottoman empire. Returning to Constantinople, the sultan was informed that the prince of Mirad was creating disturbances in Asia. Enraged at this, he ordered the governor of Asia Minor to behead the traitor; but the governor, fearing to do this openly, resorted to the treachery so commonly practised by Turkish nobles and pashas. He addressed to the rebel a friendly letter, informing him the sultan had appointed him his assistant; and inviting him to come and consult with him upon state affairs. The prince fell into the snare; and, coming to the governor's tent, was, with his two sons, seized and immediately put to death. Thus the rebellion was stifled; and the sultan, having prepared a great fleet, sent his vizier Mustafa Pasha in command of it to Rhodes, while he himself went by land to Thessalia, whence he sailed over to Rhodes, and closely besieged that city; and after five months of incessant conflict it was wrested from its Christian defenders by the combined effects

of war and fatigue and famine. Thus was Rhodes, famous under the Grecian and Romish empires, surrendered to the Turks. During the siege, the governor of Egypt died, leaving an immense treasure; when an Arabian chief tried to stir up the Egyptians to revolt; but Solyman, getting knowledge of these transactions, sent his vizier with five ships to Alexandria, where they arrived after a few hours' run before a fair wind, much to the wonder and alarm of the insurgents. The rebellion was instantly quelled; but Solyman, finding it would occupy too much time to remain and settle the affairs of the state, appointed another of his janissaries to the supreme command of Egypt. This man, who had only been a private in the army, at once obtained the rank of vizier, much to the displeasure of Mustapha, who conceived that his late victory entitled him to a like distinction; but remembering that he was servant to a prince whose will was law, he concealed his own opinion, and affecting ignorance of what was passing at Rhodes, transmitted accounts of his proceedings to the sultan, with a request of the government of Egypt. Solyman readily acceded; telling him that he reserved nothing to himself save the royal name, and the impression on the coin. The newly-invested governor, enriched with his predecessor's immense wealth and the treasure of those whom he had conquered or proscribed, aspired to sovereignty, and resolved to subject all Egypt to his own dominion. Imprudently he imparted his purposes to Mahomet Effendi, writer to the Supreme Council, tempting him with his future grand-viziership; but

this latter, whether shocked or terrified by the proposition, resolved to disclose it. A trusty follower, however, gave the governor notice of his peril; so that he escaped to the deserts of Arabia, where with a few attendants he abode with some native chiefs. Having, by means of great promises, contrived to assemble a considerable band of Arabs, he waged war with his late betrayer, who was rewarded by the sultan with the government of Egypt; having raised a considerable army with which he pursued and captured the fugitive, and sent his head to the sultan.

In his new vizier Solyman found an honourable and faithful servant; and so well pleased was he that he bestowed his own sister in marriage on this young soldier, and whilst these nuptials were being celebrated the festivities were redoubled by the sultana presenting her new lord with a son. Shortly afterwards the vizier was dispatched with some galleys to Egypt on certain state affairs; but he was twice driven back by contrary winds, and finally obliged to proceed by land to Aleppo. Having arranged matters in Egypt he left Solyman Pasha to govern there; and returned to Constantinople just before the second Hungarian expedition. The attack on Hungary commenced by a powerful army marching to Belgrade; here a bridge was thrown over, and the forces were marched into the plains of Suam; from whence they moved towards Buda, taking upon the march some considerable towns and causing a bridge over the Dravus to be destroyed: the Hungarians also had intended its demolition, but found, to their astonishment, they had been too tardy. The Turks

had evidently crossed with the intention of either conquering or dying; for they had cut off their own sole means of retreat. The king of Hungary marched with all speed and encamped before the Turks: next day a fierce battle ensued, which lasted nearly twelve hours with doubtful success; but toward sunset the Hungarian ranks were broken, they fled in confusion, abandoning the whole camp, and leaving their king dead upon the field. After this, Solyman marched directly upon the capital; and Buda, weakened and dispirited, made little resistance. The next day Pesth, on the opposite side of the Danube, voluntarily surrendered to the conqueror. Winter now approaching, the sultan deemed it prudent to retrace his steps to his own capital, which he entered with his victorious army laden with captives and spoil, the fruits of one short year's campaign. Rumours of his death having reached Asia, a rebellion broke out, which Solyman speedily suppressed, capturing the rebel chief, and killing 40,000 of his followers. At this time an incident occurred, singular—I believe—in the Turkish history. A learned Turkish theologian stood boldly forward and maintained that the gospel of Christ and the Christian religion constituted the only true faith. This man, whose name was Cabyzi Ajam, is said to have been well-versed in the law and several sciences, and esteemed by the Turks a devout and learned man. He must have been a bold man thus openly to become the champion of an obnoxious faith—yet he introduced it not only as a schoolmaster, but he openly harangued upon the subject, and even affirmed it in the public mosque. His friends and relatives vainly

endeavoured to induce him to recant; at length the people dragged him before the mufti, but here too he repeated his offensive doctrines, and showed by quotations both from the Koran and the Bible, the excellency of the Christian law and the purity of the Gospel. The mufti finding argument and remonstrance all in vain, admonished him and sent him before the sultan, who ordered him to be beheaded. Methinks this Turkish Christian is as well entitled to canonization as ever was a martyr of the Romish calendar; and they who address their devotion to canonized persons may say a prayer or two to St. Cabyzi Ajam. After this decapitation of one man for presuming to be a Christian, Solyman's wholesale execution of hundreds for the guilt of a few criminals who had cut a Christian's throat deserves our brief notice. Certain thieves broke into a merchant's house during the night, and murdered the man, carrying off property to a great amount. The sultan ordered strict inquiry to be made, when it came to light that some Albanians had been concerned. At that period there were a great many of these people residing at Constantinople; and as it was impossible to identify the individual, the sultan decreed that all the Albanians, whether residents or sojourners only in Constantinople, should be put to death. At this time a terrible quarrel had arisen between two great functionaries at Aleppo—the civil judge and the kaznadar. The citizens, despairing of their ever coming to terms, took the law into their own hands and murdered them both. Solyman was so enraged against the Aleppines that he commanded some pashas to lead thither an

army and put all the inhabitants, whether concerned in the outrage or not, to death ; but this sentence, happily for the citizens of Aleppo, was not carried into execution. The vizier interceded in behalf of the doomed city ; and it was spared becoming the theatre of indiscriminate massacre, whereof we could hardly find a parallel in history.

CHAPTER XIX.

Capture of Buda—Embassy from Moldavia—Siege of Vienna—
The Turks repulsed—Inundation—Retreat of Solymán—Story
of the Jewess—War in the Morea—Van taken—Capture of
Baghdad—Execution of the Defterdar—Naval successes—
Attack on Corfu—Moldavia ravaged—Tyranny of Solymán.

WHILE Solymán was occupied in quelling broils within his own dominions, the Germans took Buda from the Hungarians, strongly fortifying its defences and garrisoning the city with their own troops. Upon receipt of this intelligence, the sultan, who considered the Hungarians as under his protection, marched from Constantinople to avenge the injury done to them; but this year his designs were frustrated by the extreme inclemency of the weather and by an inundation which swept away nearly all his stores and ammunition; which calamity the Turks attributed to a retribution from heaven upon the head of Solymán for having unjustifiably deprived a mufti of his office. In the following year, however, the Turkish army encamped under the walls of Buda. Through the pusillanimity of the German governor the city yielded after little or no resistance, the Germans first stipulating that their lives and property should be protected; but as the forces marched out, the janissaries reviled the Germans for their cowardice, and so scoffed at them that one soldier, unable any longer to stand their taunting,

drew his sword and thrust it through a janissary, exclaiming, "I am not commander but commanded." This so enraged the Turks that they fell upon the Germans and massacred them to a man. Whilst Solyman was at Buda he received an embassy from the prince of Moldavia, offering his dominions as a fief to the Ottoman empire upon honourable terms, one special clause being their perfect freedom in all matters of their religion. These terms were most acceptable to the Turk, who dreaded the Moldavians more than any neighbouring power, and who was too fully occupied with other matters to make a hostile attempt upon their country. The prince of Moldavia, visiting the sultan in person, was well received, the treaty duly ratified, and he himself honoured by a rich decoration, besides being allotted a guard of honour of four persons—a practice still observed when the hospodars visit the Sublime Porte. In this year, Solyman having garrisoned the cities which he had taken bethought him of other conquests; and all Europe quaked to learn that this ambitious prince had encamped before the walls of Vienna. Forty days did he assault the city—mines were sprung—part of the city walls blown into fragments—the Turkish troops were commanded to storm the breaches—and the crescent flag was all but waving on the bastions; yet the resistance of the garrison prevailed. The Turks attribute the non-conquest of the city to deceit practised by the inhabitants—they affirm that the citizens sent an ambassador to the sultan praying for a ten days' cessation of arms under the plea that it would occupy that period before they could receive

a reply from their sovereign ; whose permission they had asked to throw open the city gates, and by whom they were sworn not to yield without his consent. Meanwhile they requested that Solyman would desist from assailing the tower of St. Stephen, as it was alike useless and shameful to destroy so beautiful a structure. It would appear that the sultan was glad to accede to this truce, as much to refresh his own troops as from any other motives ; but he stipulated that during this interval the crescent, not the cross, should float from the top of St. Stephen's ; and to this the Christians consented. Meanwhile, the expected autumnal rains came to the succour of the besieged garrison, in such torrents that the Turkish camp was nearly swept away ; hundreds died from cold and diseases brought on by incessant exposure to damp, and more fell by the swords of the Christians, as, without spirit or strength, they vainly endeavoured to storm the breaches. At length, considerably weakened in numbers, Solyman was compelled to raise the siege and retire as best he could through an enemy's country. This required no little generalship—his forces had become inferior to those which surrounded him—his army was encumbered with a vast number of prisoners, whom the Tartars and other light horse had brought in during skirmishes and forays extending as far as the bridge of Ratisbon. In this predicament, he massacred all his prisoners ; and then, suddenly striking his tents, fell back by rapid marches upon Buda, where, for the first time, he received from the Ban of Transylvania the tenths of the tribute he had fixed upon Hungary ; and so returned to

Constantinople—not long however to enjoy repose, for fresh disturbances broke out in Hungary. There is a tradition among the Turks that, on this particular occasion, the Christians having overpowered the Turks were rushing into the city, when a Jewish woman, tearing a piece of her gown, lit it, and fired off an immense cannon, which the Turks, in their confusion, had overlooked; but which committed such havoc amongst the Hungarians, that it seemed for a moment to paralyze their courage, and gave the janissaries time to rally and repulse them. They say that the Jewess and her family were declared free of taxation, and that the gown in question was distinguished by Solyman having it girt with a circle of pure silver. Whatever reliance be due to this story, it is certain that the Hungarians were ultimately repulsed; and Solyman, enraged at the Hungarians having escaped with little or no punishment, invaded them with an overwhelming army and ravaged and destroyed the whole country. This expedition augmented the Turkish empire with twenty cities and towns; besides which the Slavonians, to avoid rapine and bloodshed, submitted to the sultan. In this interval the Morea had been invaded by the Italians and others, who occupied the city of Corone and laid waste the whole province; but they were soon after expelled by the Turkish forces. In this year the prince of a territory hitherto subject to the Persians, fled to Constantinople and placed himself under the protection of the Ottoman sultan, to whom he suggested the feasibility of capturing Babylon; and his arguments so well prevailed, that Solyman forthwith immediately dispatched a powerful

army into Syria with instructions that it should winter at Aleppo, and thence take the field ; but the Turkish general, finding the conquest of Babylon a more difficult undertaking than he had imagined, relinquished this idea ; and, turning his arms in another direction besieged and took the city of Van, on the borders of Persia. Meanwhile, Chaneddim Pasha, heretofore a notorious pirate, offered his services as admiral of the Ottoman fleet, undertaking to subject to the sultan the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers : the emperor directed him to proceed to Aleppo, where he might consult with Ibrahim Pasha, the general commanding the Ottoman forces. This the pirate did, and so successfully, that he was immediately made admiral of the Turkish fleet. The sultan himself left Constantinople with a considerable force to join the troops at Van ; and being joined by his allies, the whole combined forces marched upon Baghdad, the governor of which city hearing of their approach, and finding himself too weakly garrisoned to withstand so formidable an army, sent word thereof to his master the king of Persia, and without waiting for succour or even for reply, he quitted the city followed by all the inhabitants, and fled into the interior of Persia. The combined forces under Solyman marched into the city without opposition. While resting themselves there, the sultan—always bent upon the improvement and fortification of any newly-acquired possession—discovered, on viewing the ancient monuments of heroes, a place dedicated to “Imam-Azem,” which commanded the defence of the city, not only for external assault, but also from any civil disturbance.

This he immediately ordered to be strongly fortified, well stored, and garrisoned with janissaries. He then turned his attention to the financial state of the city, and carefully examined its accounts. Having discovered that the defterdar had not only embezzled several sacks of gold from the public treasury, but had been secretly corresponding with the Persians, to whom, for considerable bribes, he had revealed state secrets, he ordered the delinquent to be hanged as a traitor; but just before the sentence was to be carried into execution, the defterdar called for pen ink and paper and set down a full confession, inculcating the sultan's own son-in-law—the grand vizier—a confession which led to that unfortunate officer's execution. While at Babylon intelligence reached the Turks that an immense army of Persians was marching upon Van, whereupon the Ottoman army returned to Taurus; but the Persians sent ambassadors to crave for peace, whom, however, Solyman dismissed without deigning an answer.

In this year Solyman placed under tribute the greater part of the Persian empire; and then returning toward Aleppo got back to his capital, where, the third day after his arrival, he ordered the execution of the vizier. The next year threatened troubles again in Persia; but Solyman, not liking the fatigue of so long a march, dispatched a Georgian general, who succeeded in quelling all disturbances. During these events the piratical admiral of the Turks was committing dreadful devastation, sweeping all before him by sea, and laying waste the African coasts of the Mediterranean: toward the end of the year the sultan dispatched a fleet under

the joint command of his grand vizier and the pirate admiral, to take Corfu from the Venetians ; while he himself, accompanied by two of his sons, Mustapha and Mahomet, led the land forces through Albania, that they might unseat and chastise the Albanians, who had raised some disturbances ; but these bold people would have effectually impeded his progress through the country had not one of the pashas argued them into submission. He then proceeded to Corfu, where he commanded all the villages and towns to be burnt ; but, besieging the capital, he was repulsed ; and the sea growing tempestuous, as autumn was now far advanced, the Turks fell back upon Constantinople. An army of 20,000 men attacked the Turkish-Greek frontiers ; but they were repulsed by the Ottoman governor. Solyman, encouraged by these victories, ordered an expedition into further Arabia, or, as the Turks call it, India ; when, as those records say, they subjected the whole province of Yemen and annexed it to the Ottoman empire. But during these transactions in the East the sultan perpetrated one of the most atrocious acts of barbarism ever recorded : entering Moldavia with numerous forces, but as upon a friendly visit to a tributary state, he caused the whole country from the Danube to Seczava to be destroyed with fire and sword ; and then pitching his tent near the city sent to demand the annual tribute. The Moldavians being rendered utterly powerless sued for peace on the tyrant's own terms, begging only that their prince might be invested with regal authority ; to this Solyman consented ; but next day, assembling the principal nobles of the

land and haranguing them, he pretended to justify his proceedings; saying, that by the Mahometan law every Moldavian should be put to the sword, because some of their number had assisted in some petty foray undertaken by a few Christians on the confines of the Ottoman empire; instead however of exercising this harsh privilege, he would merely subject them to a mulct, requiring them forthwith to deliver up the treasure left behind by their late prince and governor. To this the unfortunate Moldavians could offer no resistance. Accordingly, the next day, the defterdar with a company of janissaries sacked the town; carrying away not only the prince's treasury, but the private treasury of the town, wherein were, besides immense sums of money, the diadems of the prince, sceptres, crosses, and holy images, adorned with precious jewels; these were all seized and carried off, and with this unrighteous pillage Solyman the next day returned to Constantinople.

CHAPTER XX.

War with the Germans—Solyman's great power—His death—Succeeded by Selim the Second—Expedition to Caffa—Revolt in Yemen—Great fire at Constantinople—Attack on Cyprus—Nicosia—Its great strength—Siege and capture of the city—Conquest of Cyprus—Defeat of the Turkish fleet.

WHILE the forces headed by Solyman were perpetrating the outrages related in our last chapter, his piratical admiral had obtained almost equal success until he encountered the Christian fleet under Andrea Doria; when, though still successful, he had to maintain such a contest as he had never before experienced. In this year, John de Zapol, king of Hungary and an ally and tributary of the sultan, died, leaving an infant son Stephanus. The king of Germany imagining this a favourable opportunity of annexing Hungary to his dominions, invaded Buda with 8000 men; but the widow of King John implored for her son the sultan's protection. Solyman dispatched two of his viziers with a handful of troops, thinking perhaps that his name inspired sufficient terror. But it was not until the sultan himself at the head of a considerable army appeared before Buda, that the Germans retreated. It would however have been better for the young Hungarian king, had his mother made terms with the Germans; for Solyman, on obtaining possession of the city,

removed them to a different district; and placing a strong garrison of janissaries in Buda under a pasha, converted the Christian churches into mosques, and appointed a cadi. His career of victories procured for Solyman not only the love of his subjects, and the fear of his enemies, but independent Christian princes in these mutual contests sought and obtained his protection; so that the king of France sought his aid in subjecting the Spaniards, when Solyman sent a numerous fleet under the pirate admiral to cruise off the coast of Spain. Solyman went on from conquest to conquest. The last ten years of his life were devoted to civil and ecclesiastical legislation, and to the erection of a magnificent mosque, known by his name to this day, and only second in structure to the Mosque of St. Sophia. During this long interval of peace he was, however, collecting troops and money to enable him to wage war against Europe on a gigantic scale, when his visions of universal empire were brought to their close. Stricken in years, his frame debilitated with long excesses, Solyman sank rapidly under an attack of fever, and expired in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and the forty-first of his reign. With him may be said to have expired the fortunes of the Ottoman empire.

Selim the Second succeeded to his father. Soon after his accession, certain provinces in Arabia broke into open rebellion. Baghdad was besieged and plundered, and the whole of the surrounding country laid waste. On receipt of this information the sultan ordered the generals at Baghdad and Bassora to unite their forces to a troop of janissaries which he had dis-

patched from the capital, and to follow the invaders even into their retreats in the deserts; this the Turkish forces effected, and peace was restored in those provinces. Selim was counselled by his viziers not to let his soldiers' valour decay under want of occupation; but the difficulty was to contrive a quarrel with Germany, a treaty with which state had only recently been concluded. The Persians had been waging a species of petty warfare which had much annoyed the Turks; but his father Solyman had experienced the cost and hazard of a Persian war; and the accounts of the treasury too plainly showed, that the country had been drained of its wealth without obtaining any satisfactory or permanent results. The sultan therefore determined to ship a body of troops to Caffa; where he directed his generals to hire labourers of all the Tartar tribes, and pitching their tents near the Volga, to join it by a canal with the Tanais, thereby enabling his fleets to reach the shores of the Caspian Sea; and, the Persians not having a fleet there, to transport his army into Shirvan, and so subdue all Persia. This gigantic plan would have been crowned with more than ordinary success, had not nature herself combined against the inordinate ambition of the Turks; one-third of the channel had been cut, when a succession of tempests, such as are experienced only in those inhospitable climes, setting fiercely in; the labourers suffering under continual cold and wet, and the want of proper nourishment, fell ill, and perished in numbers. The enterprise was consequently abandoned. One advantage, however, resulted to the Turks—1000 Nigian Tartars who had

heretofore been under Russian sway, returned with the Ottomans, and established themselves within the Turkish jurisdiction. A revolt now took place in the kingdom of Yemen; where the Arabs of that district had suddenly risen and murdered the whole of the Ottoman forces, together with the pasha. Selim ordered the governor of Egypt to join an army which he forthwith dispatched, and destroy the rebels. His order was speedily and literally executed, and the tidings celebrated at Constantinople by public rejoicings, and by a grand illumination, which unfortunately turned the festivity into mourning; for some houses catching fire, a furious conflagration raged for seven days, reducing almost every part of the city to ashes.

In this year, the remnant of Spanish Saracens, which had been very ill treated under the Christian domination in Spain, rose in Algarva and attacked the Spaniards at first with great success; but, knowing their own weakness, they sent ambassadors to Selim, imploring his aid against their mutual enemy. The sultan replied, that so soon as he had effected the conquest of Cyprus, he would send them the requisite succour. Accordingly, a numerous fleet, under the prime minister, the Capitan-Pasha, sailed for Cyprus; coasting along Asia Minor, they passed the once famous shores of Tarshish, and thence skirted the Gulf of Alexandretta, or Iskenderdom, and anchored off Larnaca, in the island of Cyprus, on an unfortified waste of sands; but a long day's march lay between them and the capital of the island, interposing a barren and treeless desert, without a drop of water to cool

the tongue of steed or soldier, while the sun beat down upon their heads, and the wind drove the hot arid dust into their faces. Thus did they heavily stagger over the plains once described in Pagan history as the resort of the goddess Venus and her nymphs, luxuriating amid verdure and flowers and purple grapes, beneath the golden light of sunset. Such was the romance of Cyprus; but not such did the Turks prove its stern reality, as, with all his appliances, the traveller would prove it at this day. They found more than this. On arriving before the well-fortified capital, Nicosia, they found it—as now—engirt with well-built and almost impregnable fortifications; and containing within itself a large extent of land laid out with vineyards and orchards and fields, having an abundant supply of water from wells and reservoirs. It was no easy matter even with so considerable a force, when the city gates were once closed, for any enemy, except by stratagem or a prolonged siege, to force the inhabitants into submission; neither were they inclined to risk all in one decisive assault. It was not easy to ascertain the position of the city gates, while the extreme height of the walls rendered scaling ladders almost useless. And, had these obstacles been surmounted, the assailants would have found themselves in dark subterranean passages, leading many feet under the ground, and in their circuitous windings traversing nearly half a mile before they gave admittance into the city. Not the most powerful and resolute soldiers in the world would attempt to force these passages in the face of a resisting enemy.

Thus was it with the corps which Selim had dispatched for the capture of Cyprus. For on arriving before Nicosia, and after one or two ineffectual assaults, they sat themselves down in front of the city, determined to blockade the place, and erect winter quarters, until further instructions should arrive. During this long interval the Turks were as indefatigable as the besieged were indolent. In any vigilant hands, no power could have subdued Cyprus under a siege of at least three years' duration. The Turks continued undermining the walls; and the Cypriotes deemed themselves too secure even to repair the breaches made in the walls. Early in the following year, the Capitan-Pasha returned from Constantinople with a fresh squadron of ships laden with troops provisions and ammunition. His arrival was hailed with the greatest joy by the Turks, who were weary of remaining idle through so long a space. The siege last year abandoned as impracticable was renewed with fresh vigour and better success; the walls were undermined, and the city carried by assault; so that after upwards of a year's resistance, Nicosia saw the crescent flag floating over her ramparts. The downfall of the capital opened the conquest of all the other towns of any importance in Cyprus. Famagosto was the first to surrender without resistance, and the other towns followed her example; thus Cyprus was added to the long list of countries and islands annexed to the Ottoman dominions in Europe; Tunis being, at the same period, taken from the Moors in Northern Africa. But while rejoicings were going on at the capital, upon

the receipt of the intelligence of these fresh victories, a sad reverse awaited the Turks — one which in their inflated pride they were little prepared to meet. The fleet which had landed the forces at Cyprus, having left the flower of the Turkish army to garrison that newly-acquired position, was returning leisurely towards Stamboul, when it was suddenly attacked by the Venetians and Spaniards, under Don John the half-brother of Philip of Spain. The engagement lasted through several hours; the old Capitan-Pasha, unfortunately for the Turks, was slain in the battle; the Turkish ships were thrown into confusion; and scarcely one vessel among them returned to Constantinople. This also was the gallant old Doria's doing; and so effectually did he and Don John accomplish their work, that Selim, who was in other respects considered to be a strong-minded prince, was so cast down by the total destruction of his fleet, that he fasted for three days and nights, not even drinking a cup of water, nor permitting any one of his court to approach him, while he prayed to Allah, in the bitterness of a revengeful spirit, to heap perdition upon his enemies.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Sultan's grief—Naval engagement—Attack on Messina—Tunis taken and recaptured—Magnificent bath—Death of Selim the Second—Succeeded by Murad the Third—Victory over the Persians—The apostate—Severe winter—Obstinate battle with the Persians—Rebellion suppressed—Persian embassy—Military operations—Negligence of the Persians.

AN eastern writer says, that when any man in his most flourishing state meets with fortune's frown, he may judge of Selim's grief at the unexpected discomfiture of his fleet. He had just received intelligence of the conquest at Cyprus; and while he was waiting the return of his victorious fleet, the few that had escaped arrived and informed him of the destruction of its entire force. His courage, however, was revived by the casual perusal of a passage in the Koran, which appeared to him a favourable omen. In this year he dispatched another fleet of 250 galleys, under the successor of the Capitan-Pasha who had been killed in the late disastrous engagement. Soon after it had left Constantinople it encountered an European fleet near Navarino, when, desirous of wiping out his predecessor's disgrace, the Turkish admiral at once attacked the enemy: a severe engagement ensued, in which neither side could claim the advantage; and night coming on, as though by mutual accord they drew

off from each other. Some days after they again met, but each seemed alike reluctant to engage; the Genoese proceeding towards Italy and the Turks returning to Constantinople. Upon this Selim, though somewhat tardily, bethought him of his promise to the Mahometan ambassador from Spain; and that he might not seem to break his word, and at the same time revenge the blow he had received from the Spanish fleet at Lepanto, he dispatched a fleet, which, crossing the Mediterranean, made its appearance off Messina; where, doubtless, the Turk would have committed those fearful excesses, whereof the desire had now possessed his spirit. Accident, however, on this occasion saved Messina—a furious tempest arose, compelling the Turkish vessels to put to sea again and return to Constantinople. Meanwhile the king of Spain, at the head of those forces which he had destined for the relief of Messina, sailed over into Africa and surprised Tunis; killing and making prisoners all the Mahometan inhabitants, then fortifying the city with stronger works, and garrisoning it with his own soldiers. The blame and the loss of Tunis rested entirely upon the head of the Turkish capitan, who had neglected to leave a sufficient force to guard it against surprise; for this fault, on his arrival at Constantinople he was dismissed, and Sinan Pasha the former vizier appointed to take his place. This new capitan sailed with a very large fleet to recapture Tunis, which they effected, razing the castle of Golette to the ground, and—to use the oriental expression—sacrificing the garrison to the ghosts of the Mahometans slain by the Christians

in Tunis. About the same time a slight disturbance in Hungary was speedily quelled by Jephth Pasha with 500 janissaries, and this was the last act in the reign of Sultan Selim. Towards the end of the same year he built a large and magnificent bath, consisting of forty rooms, all of marble. It stands between the apartments in the seraglio designed respectively for the men and for the women, and is the first object that strikes the eye in sailing through the Bosphorus. It was in this magnificent bath (the first time it was ever used) that Selim for the last time bathed. It is said that, to avoid the evil effects of the humid vapours which filled the bath, it having been heated before the cement was dry, the sultan drank copious goblets of wine, which occasioned sudden tendency of blood to the head and terminated in a fatal malady, suffering from which he lingered eleven days and then died, in the 52nd year of his age, after a reign of eight years. So died Selim the Second, a courageous prince; but one who has left behind him amongst the Turks the discreditable appellation of "the drunkard." To him succeeded his son Murad the Third. For three summers this prince occupied himself with the internal affairs of his kingdom and in making preparation for a long campaign. All things being prepared, he appointed Mustapha Pasha, who had distinguished himself at the capture of Cyprus, to the command of the forces of Erzeroum and Diarbekir. One of his first movements was to fortify the city of Kars, then almost demolished by the several sieges which it had been exposed to; he then built store-houses and granaries and filled them with corn; the want of this staple

commodity having been one of the principal hindrances to the success of the Mohammedan arms. He commenced operations by attacking and subduing Childiam, a considerable town of Persia; but he had not long possessed it when information arrived that an immense army was marching to its relief; Mustapha, therefore, detached the two pashas with a strong force to stop their further progress; a service which they well performed, coming upon the Persians so unexpectedly that they fled in the utmost confusion. The immediate fruit of this victory was Tiflis, a town of considerable importance in Armenia, which was first sacked, then put to the sword and burnt. After subduing some other towns, as Mustapha was about returning to Constantinople there came to him a Christian noble who was under the authority of the shah of Persia, and who tendered to the Turk the keys of the town placed under his charge, promising thenceforward to pay tribute to the sultan alone. This man ultimately became Mahometan, and was rewarded for his perfidy and apostasy with the province of Asia Minor, and made governor-general of the newly-acquired city. Mustapha having appointed efficient officers to command the Turkish troops on the frontiers of Persia, returned to Constantinople. •

After his departure the winter set in very severely in Persia—a sore trial for the poor Turkish soldiers, who with only such shelter as a few ruined hovels and their own tents could afford, were subjected to the intensest suffering, and died by hundreds in the camp: this so alarmed the commanding officer that he ordered the whole of his troops into winter quarters,

which were necessarily situated at a considerable distance from each other. Taking advantage of their position, the Persian general immediately assaulted the Turkish troops, and committed terrible havoc among them. The pasha was not a little troubled lest this disaster, notwithstanding his wise and humane motives, should be laid to his charge. Resolved, therefore, to revenge the injury or to perish in the attempt, great as were the advantages against him, not of numbers only but of climate and season, he marched against the Persians and had with them about twenty successive engagements ; till finally not less than 30,000 Persians had assembled, and a furious battle continued almost incessantly during four days, when at length victory favoured the Turks, and the Persians were cut down almost to a man : but the general, seeing his army considerably weakened, repaired the walls of Shemhair, and leaving there a greater part of the army under Jephth Pasha the commander-in-chief, returned with the rest into Europe. The greater portion of the Turkish army being detained in Persia, the Chan of the Crimea Tartars thought it a favourable opportunity to shake off the Ottoman yoke. Murad ordered Mustapha Pasha to suppress the rebellion, which the latter readily undertook, following upon this occasion a route never before taken by an army ; neither indeed, as is supposed, by an individual or party of travellers. Crossing over Mount Caucasus by the Straits of Demacape, he passed the Tanais in boats, and so came unexpectedly upon the rebel Chan from a quarter whence he never expected a man, much less an army, to arrive. A sharp battle

—a victory—the Chan's head was sent to the Sultan—and rebellion was suppressed. In this year the prime vizier left Constantinople at the head of a large army to join their companions on the frontier of Persia, with the purpose of not returning to Stamboul until he had subjugated the whole of the Persian empire. But the Persians became alarmed for the safety of their kingdom, and laying aside their warlike preparations they sent ambassadors to meet the Turkish commander-in-chief before he had penetrated too far into Persia, with the warmest professions of good-will and protestations of regret for the rupture which had unhappily occurred. The vizier was so moved by the representations of these ambassadors that he immediately ordered the army to march back, whilst the ambassador was sent on with commendatory letters to the sultan. Murad differed however with his vizier; he thought it too soon for the enemy not yet quite exhausted to sue for peace, and dishonourable to his own army to be cajoled by a few fair speeches, when their preparation and maintenance had made a considerable inroad upon his treasury; wherefore he dismissed the ambassadors with a peremptory refusal, and displaced the vizier pasha for taking so important a measure instead of consulting himself. The new vizier entered the Persian territories at the head of a considerable army; his only act was to repair the walls of Revan, a city that had long been in ruins; but, whether from lack of skill or of integrity, he never took a single city or gained a single action; and so, at the approach of winter, he and his crest-fallen troops re-

turned to Constantinople. Murad, greatly disappointed in his expectations, deprived him of not only the military command but also of the viziership, both of which he conferred upon Othman Pasha, who had already much distinguished himself in the Persian campaigns; and this latter was so impatient to get at his old enemies that he started off immediately, purposing to winter on the confines of Persia and to commence operations with early spring in the next year. He recovered Tybris which had been lost by his predecessors, and, as he found that this city was entirely commanded by a neighbouring hill, he turned all his soldiers into pioneers, cleared away the brushwood and jungle leading up to the top of the hill, in an incredibly short time; the timber thus hewn was used for the woodwork of the outer fortifications, while on the summit of the hill he constructed a strong fortress. So skilful and so unremitting was the work, that within a month the walls were in a condition to stand the most vigorous assaults. Had the Persians possessed the most ordinary talent or observation, they could not have neglected the peculiar position of this hill and its natural facilities of defence for the surrounding plains, which so immediately caught the eye of the intelligent Ottoman chief. And this may well be presumed the reason why the Persians, though superior in number and fighting upon their own ground, were almost invariably defeated by the Ottomans.

CHAPTER XXII.

Peace with Persia—Insurrection of the janissaries—Death of Murad—Mahomet the Third—Expedition to Hungary—Death of Mahomet—Ahmed the First—Civil war—State of Marash—War with Persia—Mehemet Pasha—Halil Pasha—Death of Ahmed—Osman the Second—His character—He is murdered—Murad the Fourth.

DURING the remainder of Murad's reign, the Turkish forces were perpetually engaged in warfare with Persia, till the latter nation sued earnestly for peace ; and the shah, sending his brother, as a royal hostage to guarantee the strict performance of any treaty concluded, it was at last established, and both nations rested from a prolonged and unprofitable warfare. In this year, a mutiny broke out at Constantinople among that formidable body, the janissaries, who, discovering that they were defrauded by a knavish defterdar or accountant, determined to revenge themselves, and would have sacrificed the delinquent to their fury, had he not escaped to the sultan's palace, imploring the royal protection. But even here he was in imminent danger ; for the janissaries clamorously assembled in front of the gates, and swore by their beards, that if the defterdar was not delivered up to their mercy, they would sack the seraglio.

This was too much for Murad to endure; but he had a terrible foe to contend with. Secretly the refore arming his household troops and servants, they made a sudden sally, and at the first onset succeeded in slaying one hundred and fifteen of the mutineers. The rest were speedily dispersed; and, the ringleaders having been seized and punished, the remainder were pardoned. Murad learned by this experience, that maintaining an army in indolence was as dangerous as it was costly. He accordingly found occupation for them in Hungary; and having for the time restored peace both at home and abroad, he finished his earthly course, dying in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the twenty-first of his reign.

Whatever were the results, good or evil, of Murad's reign, they are attributable to the ministers in whose hands he left the affairs of state, rather than to himself. With them therefore must abide the credit of a measure, more beneficial to Moslem and Christian, than all the conquests and all the treasures which either of these had ever won from the other—I speak of the trade established with England, at the instance of our Queen Elizabeth. From this arose the Company of "Turkey Merchants;" for whose protection, during their abode in and commerce with the Ottoman empire, an English minister was appointed to reside in Turkey. This connexion, both in profit and civilization, has realized to both countries a continuance and increase of advantage, commercial and moral, which, though "the Turkey Merchants," *eo nomine*, are no longer in existence,

will shed over the reign of Murad the Third no common glory.

To him succeeded his son, Mahomet the Third. This sultan was of a pacific and indolent temper. His aim through life seems to have been the quiet enjoyment of that expressive and precious word, KEIF—a word which means something like this—sitting on an easy divan, at a window which commands a delightful prospect, a clear sky, and a bright sunshine; inhaling the fumes of the nargeli, or pipe—sipping iced sherbet, and lulling one's thoughts to rest in perfect silence. But as in succeeding to the throne he found the country involved in warfare with Hungary, he felt the necessity of arousing both mind and body to one decisive effort for victory; which having accomplished, he might let them collapse again into their beloved repose. He accordingly assembled a powerful army. His expedition was successful; but winter coming on, put a term to the campaign. Upon one occasion the Turkish army was surprised and so completely routed that the Christians had penetrated to the royal tents, and were falling upon the royal treasury. Unfortunately for themselves they were so engrossed in the delightful occupation of plunder, that the Turks unexpectedly rallied; and the Christian conquerors found no small number of their hands and heads rolled into the boxes containing coins in gold and silver. After this, Mahomet found it expedient to make peace with all the Christian powers; and, this being done, he retired within himself, only appearing in public just so often as was absolutely necessary for the regu-

lation of affairs, or for attending mosques. Dying of plague in this year, he exchanged the peace which he so much prized in this world, for the longer and surer tranquillity of the grave; having reigned nine years and two months. Ahmed the First came to the throne immediately upon his father's demise, being then only in his fifteenth year. He very soon gave proof of being possessed of a temperament the very reverse to that of his father. During the latter's indolent sway, a fierce set of marauding chiefs had appeared in various quarters of the Ottoman dominions; but principally in the districts most remote from the capital. At first they were little better than a troop of highwaymen; but growing bolder from the impunity of their pursuits, they gradually assumed a formidable appearance, and were in fact making for themselves independent principalities composed even of whole provinces which had been wrenched from the possession of feebler hands. To eradicate these was one of the young sultan's first cares.

All Anatolia was miserably ravaged, and thither Ahmed dispatched his forces under generals upon whom he had hoped he could rely—but these were corrupted by bribery, and in some instances actually turned plunderers themselves. The prime vizier was sent to Aleppo with vice-regal authority to lead his troops in the ensuing spring, together with such Asiatics as adhered to the Mahometan standard against the rebels—the chief of whom dwelt in the Marash district. It is remarkable, that this identical district of Marash, even up to the present day, has never been perfectly submissive to the Ottoman

sway. Though nominally a Turkish province, and governed by a regular pasha, the wild mountainous haunts in the neighbourhood, and the range of the Byas Mountains, were suited for the outrages of its lawless inhabitants during the lifetime of that terrible scourge to peace and humanity, Kuckuk Ali Ogbe; these still harbour a desperate banditti, who from all sides seem to have fixed upon Marash as their head-quarters and the mart wherein their stolen goods may best be disposed of. In no part of the sultan's dominions are the taxes so difficult of collection; revolts are common occurrences, and not six years since an emeute broke out, in which the pasha and many of his suite were sacrificed. It was to this place that the Turkish forces under the vizier marched; and here, after many hard battles, they subdued the rebels and put their leaders to flight—the latter escaped unaccompanied and without provisions into Irak. These disturbers of the public peace succeeded in violating the treaty between Persia and Turkey; for the latter state, influenced by the sycophancy of the two delinquents who had sought refuge therein, refused to deliver them up, and the consequence was a declaration of war between the two powers. The Ottoman army started upon its expedition too late for that season; and the movements of their leader were marked with that supineness which crept in among the Turks as they degenerated in valour and strength, till their slothfulness became a bye-word. So the vizier wintered at Diarbekir, the country celebrated for its magnificent melons, two of which have been known to form an ass's burthen. Early in the

spring the Turks shook off their inertness, and began to think about accomplishing the end of their long march—but just as the vizier was marshalling the troops, and about to invade Persia, he was seized with a severe illness, and sudden death left the army without a commander. The general sent to succeed him remained a year with the troops, effecting nothing; till at last getting tired of living in tents, and longing for the indolent life of Constantinople, he marched his forces back to the capital, and arriving there, had his expectations of enjoyment met by the unwelcome, but then amongst the Turks very usual process of decapitation. Mehemet Pasha was now ordered to prosecute the Persian war with vigour—he wintered at Aleppo, and crossed the Persian frontiers, and laid close siege to Revan, fiercely assaulting it during forty days—but then he was obliged to raise the siege, and retire with very considerable loss. Mehemet Pasha fell back upon Erzeroum, intending to send his forces into winter quarters; but Ahmed was so enraged at his having effected nothing but a severe loss, and the ignominy of a retreat, that he sent the general the ominous token of a silken cord—a message too well understood among Turkish governors as significant of the royal resolve, that if he did not strangle himself he would be strangled by the public executioner. To Mehemet succeeded Halil Pasha, who fearing a like termination of his office, lost no time in hastening the expedition. Happily for him however, before his courage or fortune were put to the proof, Ahmed was called to his last account, dying in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and the four-

teenth of his reign. He left a son, Osman, who, being only twelve years old, was set aside by the ministers of the deceased sultan, and his uncle Mustapha was placed on the throne; Osman being sent to a prison in the seraglio, where Mustapha himself had been confined during the late reign. He was a slothful and sottish prince. After reigning ignominiously for four months, he was with the general consent sent back from the throne to his prison, and there left to brood over his follies for a further space of four years. In this interval Osman the Second was raised to the throne. Child as he was, he appears to have been possessed of more sense than was his gross and lazy predecessor: he had a supreme contempt for the predictions of astrologers, and despite all their gloomy forebodings undertook through the medium of his generals an expedition against the Poles. We must remember, in reading about this prince, how precocious children are in Turkey and the East, and that whereas a boy reaches his manhood at thirteen, and a girl her maturity at twelve, and even at eleven, so are their intellects, when they are possessed of any, wonderfully expanded at the age of eight or nine—and so successful was this expedition, that the Turkish forces and their allies compelled the enemy into their terms, and returned laden with spoil to Constantinople. The youthful sultan was only in the fourth year of his reign, when he was barbarously murdered by the soldiery; who desired a more experienced leader, and who had hoped that Mustapha had now ample time to repent of his former follies, and resolve to lead a more active and honourable

life. Accordingly he was brought back to the throne in triumph — but deeply as he had drank of affliction's cup, even to the draining of its dregs, he soon forgot the lesson; for no sooner was he replaced in the enjoyment of power and luxury than he utterly abandoned himself to the most debasing pleasures. Whole weeks passed in the seclusion of the harem were not likely to secure for him the affections of that soldiery who were in truth the prop of the throne and the empire—for the sultan was essentially a military despot;—with the army on his side, and plenty of occupation for their arms, he was all in all; without them his authority was a mere shadow. Some idea may be formed of the influence possessed by the janissaries at Stamboul, when we read that, disgusted with the inert and dissolute character of Mustapha, they once more dethroned him, and seating him upon an ass, conducted the wretched imbecile, amid the scoffs and jeerings of the multitude, back again to his prison. Soon after, his successor, Murad the Fourth, another son of the late Sultan Ahmed, then only in his fifteenth year, began his reign by ordering the wretched Mustapha to be strangled. He was very different in habit and character from his ill-starred predecessor on the throne. His exploits had even then acquired for him the title of Gazi, or, the valiant; and in the very commencement of his reign he convinced his subjects that an active and sensible young man, however stern and severe he might be, was their best and most beneficial ruler.



CHAPTER XXIII.

The Pasha of Erzeroum—Siege of Baghdad—Its failure—Attack on Erzeroum—Total defeat of the Turks—Khosru Pasha—Erzeroum taken—The Sultan's clemency—Khosru Pasha marches on Baghdad—Is obliged to raise the siege—Rustum Khan—Defeat of the Persians—Attack on Poland—Treaty of peace—The Sultan a drunkard—Anecdote—The Sultan's excesses.

DURING the brief reign of Mustapha, the pasha of Erzeroum had ravaged Asia Minor, openly opposing the sluggish rule of the Ottoman sultan. Toward this man, whose name was Abaza, Murad the Fourth first turned his vengeance. The grand vizier, Serkies, an Armenian, was sent with an army into Asia Minor, and marching upon Kaissariah, this Christian leader of an Ottoman force attacked the rebel pasha, and after a severe struggle compelled him to fly to Erzeroum. Following up his successes, the vizier would have entirely crushed the rebellion; but that, visiting with his army Sivas and Tokat, he was suddenly taken ill at the latter place, and expired almost immediately; leaving the army to lament one of the bravest generals that had ever led the Turkish arms to conquest. Imagining that the punishment inflicted by the late vizier would serve as a lasting lesson to the rebel pasha of Erzeroum, Murad troubled himself no longer

about his movements; but dispatching a powerful army into the east, under Chaffiz Ali Pasha, he directed that general to join himself to the Asiatic troops of Turkey, and with this combined force lay siege to the distant city of Baghdad. Chaffiz obeyed the sultan's commands to the letter; but arriving at his destination, met with such obstinate resistance, that after five months' exposure to the fearful heats of that country, in addition to the havoc committed amongst his troops, he was obliged to raise the siege, and retreat into the Ottoman dominions. For this failure, he was on his return to Aleppo deprived of his command and all other military rank, while Halil Pasha assumed the command: but this vizier fell far short of the sultan's expectations; being ordered to march upon the Persian frontiers and attack the implacable foe of the Turks, upon arriving in the neighbourhood of Erzeroum, his attention was suddenly arrested by the rebel pasha, who had been lurking in the vicinity. More than half suspecting that the Turkish forces, under the semblance of attacking the Persians, had been sent to secure his person and disperse his followers, he retired into the city of Erzeroum, and fortifying himself there, laid in a store of provisions and warlike ammunition. Thinking to crush this man, and thereby do signal service to the sultan, Halil Pasha changed the line of march, and advanced upon Erzeroum. But instead of obtaining the sultan's approbation, the wretched vizier drew down upon himself endless trouble and disgrace; for, on attacking the city, he found to his consternation that not only were

his troops unable to make the slightest impression, but were actually repulsed. Neither was this all. With a small but chosen band Abaza suddenly assaulted the Ottoman camp and killed the body-guard of the vizier; thereby striking the whole army with such terror that a total defeat ensued. Multitudes of Turks were slain, and the rash general himself only escaped after throwing away his arms and putting his horse to its utmost speed. The sultan was sorely grieved on receipt of this intelligence; and bitterly did he lament not having crushed the power of the rebel pasha when it had been in his power so to do. He was also offended at the vizier, who by disobedience of his orders had caused this calamity and disgrace. However, unlike many of his predecessors, he contented himself with displacing his vizier, and sending to occupy the vacant post a noted general, Khosru Pasha. Khosru, with a plentiful supply of all the necessaries and many of the luxuries of an oriental campaign, went to Diarbekir, where he wintered; having strict injunctions from the sultan to destroy, if possible, in the early spring the power and forces of the rebel pasha of Erzeroum. Khosru was rendered cautious by the mishaps of his predecessors; and as far as his foresight would admit endeavoured to guard against their calamities, while he was equally careful to be provided against any unforeseen emergency. In consequence, he had by the first advent of spring assembled a splendid army, and cast some of the largest cannon at that time known. With these he marched upon the insurgent city, and planting advantageously his

mighty battery, opened a cannonade such as had never before been heard or felt in those parts. The roar of his artillery reverberated far over cavern and glen, while it shook the foundations of the city even as an earthquake. The inhabitants were so terrified that on the fifth day they opened their gates and delivered both the city and the rebel pasha into the power of the victorious Khosru. The pasha was immediately sent in chains to Constantinople; but the sultan had often heard of Abaza's exploits, but remembering that he had been betrayed into his power by the cowardice of his own people, he was loth to doom the captive rebel to the fate that he deserved, and moreover to deprive the empire of a head and arm, which, if properly guided and employed, might yet become the prop of the state. Accordingly Murad summoned the rebel into his presence, and after severely reproving him for his rebellion, promised to pardon him upon condition that he would wipe out his former crimes by his future actions, and draw that sword against the enemy of the Ottomans, which he had heretofore used against his own people and sovereign. Abaza, surprised beyond measure at the sultan's clemency, readily engaged to atone the past by his future devotion to the Turkish empire; and hereupon received not only the full pardon of the sultan, but was appointed beglerbeg or governor-general of Bosnia, where his undaunted spirit might curb the enemy, should they attempt to invade the Ottoman empire.

Having quieted these civil discords, Khosru Pasha was ordered to turn his arms against Baghdad; and

accordingly he marched against it with a fresh army. To prevent the recurrence of the obstacles which had impeded his predecessor in this campaign, he proceeded at once to winter at Mossul; and early in the spring he cut off all relief from Baghdad, and marching into Irak, then under a governor appointed by the shah of Persia, he took several castles, destroying all those which he could not retain, and then closely besieged Baghdad itself; but after one-and-forty days had been spent in fierce but fruitless assaults, Khosru was obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss.

The success of this undertaking is supposed to have been partly marred by fresh disturbances in Erzeroum; where Ilias Pasha, whom Murad had made successor to Abaza, not only succeeded that rebel in office, but in his spirit of rebellion. Thirsting after power and dominion, and finding that soldiers and citizens were alike ready to favour his plans, he openly refused obedience to the Ottoman sultan; but Kuchuk Mahomet Pasha marching against him, he was captured and brought to Constantinople, where he was publicly executed. These civil broils tended much to weaken the Ottoman power, and proportionally emboldened their enemies. Rustum Khan, a celebrated Persian general, invaded the Ottoman dominions, and laid close siege to Van. This city was then in a deplorably helpless condition. The Asiatic army were unable to withstand the forces of the Khan, and the garrison were reduced to the utmost straits, when Murad dispatched the governor-general of Roumelia, with European Turkish forces, to the assistance of the besieged

town; who routed the Persians, and delivered the city when just upon the eve of surrendering. The Persians having been driven back, the sultan determined to try his force with the Poles; and assembling his troops at Adrianople, ordered Mertuza Pasha, in conjunction with Zambolade Zade, whom he had made general of the Roumelian horse, to infest Poland. These generals crossed the Danube near Giorgevo, a town of Wallachia, and encamped on the banks of the river. While here awaiting the final instructions of the sultan, Polish ambassadors arrived at the Sublime Porte, and meeting Mertuza Pasha, sued for peace with him; but this latter, remembering the example of the vizier who had parleyed with the Persian ambassadors in a former reign, and fearing a like punishment, declined to act in so weighty an affair; but sent them on to Constantinople, where they succeeded in establishing a new treaty of peace.

No sultan, before or after, in the face of the whole nation, especially of the ulemas and imaums, so openly outraged the Koran and the Mahometan faith as did Murad the Third. Much to their surprise and scandal, this sultan who was a confirmed drunkard, published an edict, by which not only wine merchants were allowed to vend their liquors, but every Mussulman was permitted to drink as much of it as he chose; and as though to force wine down the throats of all his followers, Murad prohibited, under heavy penalties, the sale of coffee, as also of tobacco and opium—two things which Murad most detested, and the use whereof he invariably punished with death. One

instance indeed is recorded of a favourite court wit, who not only escaped the usual penalty, but obtained the privilege of smoking at his pleasure. This man caused a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and lightly covered over with turf. Into this pit, when he desired this perilous indulgence, he descended; but one day, having been found there by the sultan, his majesty was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, had not the smoker exclaimed, "*Go to, thou son of a bondwoman; thy edict extends over, not under, the earth.*" As Murad grew old, he became more dissipated—so much so at last, that he was little better than a maniac; and had he been a private individual instead of a sultan, he would have been either locked up as a lunatic, or shot down as one shoots a dog in the street. Whenever he was intoxicated, which was usually every day from mid-noon till midnight, he used to be seized with paroxysms of passion, during which he would rush out into the streets barefooted, in only a loose shirt, with a sharp sword in his hand, with which he hewed and cut at every one he came across. It is estimated that he killed fourteen thousand unoffending people during his reign.


CHAPTER XXIV.

Death of Murad—Ibrahim the First—The pirates destroyed—Crete—Attack on Crete—Conquest of it—Description of the Island—Incidents of Mahometan history—Settlement in Crete—The Greek Emperor Michael—Nicephorus Phocas—Alexius—Flight of the Emperor—Death of Ibrahim—Succeeded by Mahomet the Fourth—Military operations—Expedition to Candia—Obstinate defence.

MURAD died in the year 1017 of the Hegira, A.D. 1639, and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim the First. His first care was to clear the Black Sea of pirates, and render the passage safe for merchant vessels trading with Constantinople. He perceived that this could not be done without great trouble and expense, so long as the town of Asok, situated at the mouth of the Tanais, remained in their hands; it being a perfect nest of pirates, and affording them a safe retreat in case of their being defeated on the sea. The sultan, therefore, sent a powerful force to take possession of this stronghold, and this his troops accomplished, though not without a desperate struggle, or before the last handful of its ferocious defenders had been prostrated by the Mahometan sword. The Black Sea being thus relieved, Ibrahim next resolved to sweep the Mediterranean of the stray pirates who were not in their stronghold when it was taken. All the islands in the north-eastern

parts of this sea were now subjected to the Ottoman sway, with the single exception of Crete, which had heretofore set the Turks at defiance, and afforded a harbour to the corsairs who had plundered and sunk not a few Turkish vessels. The frequent complaints brought by his subjects against the Venetian government had long previously determined Ibrahim to wait only a favourable opportunity to possess himself of this fair island. This at length occurred—a party of pilgrims, bound towards Egypt and Mecca, having received gross ill usage at the hands of the Venetians. The chief eunuch of the sultan's seraglio having been superannuated, expressed a desire to visit the holy Kaabah at Mecca, before laying his bones in the grave; and having obtained his master's assent, he sailed from Constantinople with two other notables, a *cadi* and a *mollah* or priest. When their ship was passing near Crete they were suddenly attacked by six Maltese galleys. Knowing what little mercy they had to expect at the hands of these marauders, the Turks made a resolute resistance. The captain of the ship the eunuch and the *cadi* were among the slain, when the vessel was at length overpowered and taken with their property into a Cretan harbour; whence the pirates, bribing the governor with a share of their booty, were permitted to proceed at their leisure with their captives. This was an affront that Ibrahim could not pass in silence: it led to a rupture with the Venetians, and he declared war against them as robbers and protectors of pirates; prepared an army under the command of Musah Pasha and Murud Aga, the lieutenant-general of the janisseries, and a fleet under the command of Admiral

Yusuf Pasha, whose valour he had tried while he discharged the office of sword-bearer. These combined forces sailed from Constantinople in the year 1032 of the Hegira, and within a month arrived at Crete. The next day the forces were landed. Chanie was ordered to be closely besieged, and after a long resistance it surrendered to the Ottoman arms on the fifty-fourth day of the siege. The walls of the captured city were speedily repaired, and being garrisoned by a portion of the invading army, the remainder returned with the fleet to Stamboul. Soon after Hussein Pasha was dispatched with reinforcements, and in the following year the whole island, excepting Candia, was subdued. Thus fell Crete into the possession of the Turks. Speaking of its history, Turkish writers say, "Kritos, which by a change of some of the letters is by others corruptly called Gerid, is the chief of the islands in the Mediterranean, and extends from east to west two hundred miles in length, and is sixty miles in breadth. Crete seems by nature herself to have been created for the enjoyment of man. The soil is everywhere fertile and abounding with all sorts of grain. The fragrant fields are full of herbs, good as well for the food of animals as for physical usage; among the last particularly is the herb *iftumun*, whose wonderful virtues have been celebrated by ancient physicians. No wild beasts hurtful to man or animals, as wolves, foxes, serpents, are ever bred here, nor, if brought from elsewhere, can they live. The first inhabitants of this island instructed the rest of the world in an elegant mode of living. It was the constant opinion of the worshippers of graven images that the prince



of the heathen idols was born at Crete. From the same fountain flowed music and other arts tending to the delight and politure of mankind. It had formerly many and very famous cities, numberless villages and inhabitants, the softness of the air and the temperature of the climate inviting new colonies from all parts. It was many years subject to the Greeks; afterwards it was conquered by the Moors inhabiting Spain, for in the year of the Hegira 204, when Hakim, son of Hassan, of the family of Ommiah, ruled at Cordova in Spain, an insurrection was raised against him, which increased so suddenly, that a crowd of conspirators surrounded Hakim's palace, and attempted his life. The king bravely resisted, and after a sanguinary conflict dispersed the rebels, killing many and pardoning the rest, on condition that they would depart and seek new residences elsewhere.

“The Mahometans being thus expelled from their ancient seats, sailed with thirty ships towards Egypt, and arrived near Alexandria; whereupon the then governor of Egypt came from Cairo with a powerful army, and unexpectedly surrounded the people, who had only just set foot on shore. However, on hearing the pitiable account of what they had undergone, and sympathising with their condition, he suffered them to depart, after extracting a promise that they would never return to Egypt. Accordingly, they again set sail, and this time steered towards the island of Crete. Allured by the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the island, they resolved to fix their abodes there, and consulted how best to make themselves its masters. To

effect this with greater certainty, they first set fire to all their ships, so that the means of escape being cut off, not one of their number could flinch from the foe in the hopes of reaching a haven of safety. Then they invaded the island, and quickly subduing it, fortified the castles with new works, and stored them with warlike provisions. The Greek emperor Michael, hearing that Crete was taken by the Mahometans, or Saracens, sent a great fleet against them. The Saracens were worsted in the first encounter, but soon after concentrating all their force into one attack, they so vigorously assaulted the camp of the Greeks that not a man escaped to carry the tidings of their defeat to the emperor. The Saracens acquainted Michael with what had happened, and offered peace; which the emperor, seeing how much trouble it would cost him to subject the island to his sway, if indeed he succeeded in doing so at all, wisely accepted. This treaty having been duly drawn up and signed, Amru, prince of the Mahometans, and his descendants, governed the island in peace and tranquillity for eighty years. In the year 284 of the Hegira, the Greek emperor sent his general Nicephorus Phocas to Crete, with a numerous army, to dislodge the Moors. Phocas, having landed his troops, attacked and vanquished the Mahometans, took all their towns and fortresses, and forced those whom he did not put to the sword to submit to the rule of the Greek emperor. These, in process of time, partly died off, and the remainder embraced the Christian faith; so that in the course of time not a trace of Islamism remained in the island. Some years after Crete had returned

under the sway of the Greeks, Alexius, the young brother of the reigning emperor, seized upon Constantinople; and, murdering his brother, mounted the throne. Not contented with this fratricide, he attempted to rid himself of his nephew, a namesake of his own. But the young prince being happily warned of his danger, made his escape, and fled for shelter to the Venetians. There he stirred up almost all the west to his assistance; and having obtained a fleet from the Venetians and an army

France, he sailed towards Constantinople, in with the princes of France and Spain,

184 the Venetians were firm allies. With Alexius penetrated into the Pro-
red over against the city, near Kivi. The emperor being

sufficient to resist the from Constantinople, he had dealt with his brother, and as he would have dealt with the youthful prince who was now come to assert his rights. So Alexius, being confirmed in his throne, as a tribute of gratitude for past services bestowed the island of Crete upon the prince of Spain for ever; and in the year 520 of the Hegira the Venetians bought it of his descendants for a large sum, and held it till, as we have seen, in the reign of this sultan, Ibrahim, it fell into the hands of the Turks."

Sultan Ibrahim died soon after the conquest of Crete; and his son, Mahomet the Fourth, then a child of only seven years old, was duly proclaimed his successor. At this tender age he is said to have evinced great precocity in his aptitude for

effect this with greater certainty, they first set fire to all their ships, so that the means of escape being cut off, not one of their number could flinch from the foe in the hopes of reaching a haven of safety. Then they invaded the island, and quickly subduing it, fortified the castles with new works, and stored them with warlike provisions. The Greek emperor Michael, hearing that Crete was taken by the Mahometans, or Saracens, sent a great fleet against them. The Saracens were worsted in the first encounter, but soon after concentrating all their force into one attack, they so vigorously assaulted the camp of the Greeks that not a man escaped to carry the tidings of their defeat to the emperor. The Saracens acquainted Michael with what had happened, and offered peace; which the emperor, seeing how much trouble it would cost him to subject the island to his sway, if indeed he succeeded in doing so at all, wisely accepted. This treaty having been duly drawn up and signed, Amru, prince of the Mahometans, and his descendants, governed the island in peace and tranquillity for eighty years. In the year 284 of the Hegira, the Greek emperor sent his general Nicephorus Phocas to Crete, with a numerous army, to dislodge the Moors. Phocas, having landed his troops, attacked and vanquished the Mahometans, took all their towns and fortresses, and forced those whom he did not put to the sword to submit to the rule of the Greek emperor. These, in process of time, partly died off, and the remainder embraced the Christian faith; so that in the course of time not a trace of Islamism remained in the island. Some years after Crete had returned

under the sway of the Greeks, Alexius, the young brother of the reigning emperor, seized upon Constantinople; and, murdering his brother, mounted the throne. Not contented with this fratricide, he attempted to rid himself of his nephew, a namesake of his own. But the young prince being happily warned of his danger, made his escape, and fled for shelter to the Venetians. There he stirred up almost all the west to his assistance; and having

184

the Venetians were firm allies. With Alexius penetrated into the Pro-

er against the city, near The emperor being efficient to resist the from Constantinople, dealing to be dealt with as he had dealt with his brother, and as he would have dealt with the youthful prince who was now come to assert his rights. So Alexius, being confirmed in his throne, as a tribute of gratitude for past services bestowed the island of Crete upon the prince of Spain for ever; and in the year 520 of the Hegira the Venetians bought it of his descendants for a large sum, and held it till, as we have seen, in the reign of this sultan, Ibrahim, it fell into the hands of the Turks."

Sultan Ibrahim died soon after the conquest of Crete; and his son, Mahomet the Fourth, then a child of only seven years old, was duly proclaimed his successor. At this tender age he is said to have evinced great precocity in his aptitude for

effect management of state affairs. The public coffers to ~~it~~ been nearly drained by the expensive habits ~~of~~ his two immediate predecessors, his father having lavished enormous sums upon the adornment of his harem, and his grandfather having been fearfully prodigal in wine and other debaucheries. These during this young prince's minority were greatly renovated, through the thrift and care of his guardian, Kiofrili Mehemet Pasha, who also succeeded in quelling every internal dissension. He strangled his own grandmother for being mixed up with a conspiracy of the janissaries, and put many of the accomplices to death; recovering Tenedos and Lemnos from the Venetians, and taking and beheading a rebellious pasha of Aleppo, with his associates. He sent his vizier and guardian against Yanova, which after a siege of a few days was taken, and subjected to the Ottoman rule; with the same success he waged war in Hungary, where, in the year 1047 of the Hegira, Ali Pasha assaulted and took Varadin; and in the year 1051 of the Hegira, Vizier Fazil Ahmet subdued Vivar. He also declared war against and vanquished Kagolski, who died of a wound received in this encounter, and overrunning Transylvania, appointed Michael Apophi prince of that country, under a certain tribute. He entered into a treaty of peace with the emperor of Germany, to hold good for twenty years. Mahomet the Fourth sent an expedition against Candia; which, embarking at Ternies in Thessaly, sailed over into Crete, where the pasha commanding the expedition, having made all necessary preparations, re-embarked for Candia and landed without oppo-

sition. The day after landing the army was drawn up in martial array, and marched round the fort with a great show of pomp, as much to acquaint itself with its most assailable points as to intimidate the garrison. On the third day the pasha called a council of war, composed of all his officers; and bade them without restraint offer their opinions as to the most effectual method of besieging and assaulting the place. At last it was determined to undermine Castle Rossa (the red tower), and after battering the walls, make the first attempt upon the city from that side. Accordingly, ramparts were speedily thrown up, the city invested and the siege begun; but it proved such a terrible one, that according to Turkish records, never was the like known before or after. The strength of the whole Ottoman empire was brought to bear against it—many years were spent in preparation—reinforcements supplied the place of the slain—the soldiers declining the danger were compelled at the point of the sabre to renew the assault—years rolled on—and still the island of Candia remained unconquered.

CHAPTER XXV.

Surrender of Candia—Treaty of peace—The Hetman of the Cossacks—War with Russia—The Russians victorious—The Czar's letter—Council of war—Incidents of the campaign—Defeat of the Turks—Capture of Chehren—Emeric Tekeli—War with Germany—Negotiations broken off—March of the Vizier—Council of war.

THE siege of Candia continued with unabated ardour; till at last, through the treachery of Panniotti a Greek interpreter, the governor of Candia was induced to surrender under certain stipulations, guaranteed by the Turkish generals; and the grand vizier took possession of this fertile island, hoisting the Mahometan standard upon the battlements. So this city, renowned for many ages, and considered the eighth wonder of the world, which nature herself seemed to have rendered impregnable, and which had withstood the assaults of the Turks for a period almost unequalled in history, after twenty-four years' siege was annexed to the Ottoman empire, at the cost, according to Turkish historians, of above two hundred thousand Ottoman soldiers. After some victories over Poland, the last of any importance, or that increased the Ottoman limits, Constantinople and her dependencies had a brief respite from

warfare. Fresh disturbances broke out, by the prince of Moldavia, and the son of Prince Ghika of Wallachia, siding with the Poles against the Turks ; which, after many reverses, were terminated by a peace much in favour of the Christians ; now for the first time a European ambassador being received with something like the dignity due to his rank and to the nation he represented. The Polish ambassador refused to enter the city, unless the grand vizier went out to receive him at the entrance to the Sublime Porte. This the proud Turk absolutely refused to do ; and the ambassador withdrew to a village near Stamboul, and both parties remained obstinate for a whole year, when at length the Christian ambassador obtained permission to make a public entry into the city. In describing the magnificent display upon this occasion, the Turks say that the Pole caused his horses to be shod with silver shoes, the shoes being fastened with only two nails, that they might the easier fall off in the streets, which were badly paved. Soon after this, the hetman of the Cossacks, Dorosheuko, persuaded his people to go over to the czar of Russia, rather than submit to the growing insolence of the Ottoman sway. This intelligence hastened the conclusion of the pending treaty with Poland ; for on the one hand the sultan could not submit to such an insult—the power of Russia at that period being despised by the Turks—on the other hand, a war would entail many serious consequences, on account of the obstructions offered by the passes in the enemy's country, the scarcity of provisions, and the extreme

cold and inclemency of the climate. To avoid therefore if possible going to extreme measures, he released George Kremielniski, the former hetman of the Cossacks, who had been kept close prisoner in the Seven Towers; and reinstating him in his post sent him to his people, hoping that his influence would obtain what years of warfare might not establish. But the effort was vain. The Cossacks, thinking their late hetman long dead, and that an imposition had been practised upon them, refused to receive either letters or ambassadors, and then the sultan declared war against them. Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha marched at the head of the Turkish forces through Moldavia and Podolia, and then encountered sixty thousand Russians and Cossacks, strongly entrenched and arrayed. At this unexpected rencontre, of which the Turkish commander had no preconception, Ibrahim halted his forces, to await the arrival of reinforcements, which were three days' journey behind them; but in this expectation he was thwarted by the vigilance of the Russians, who, hearing that this force was upon its march, sent a portion of their troops to intercept them—an effort in which they perfectly succeeded, falling upon the reinforcements, and slaying at least ten thousand of them. This success of the Russians intimidated the Turkish soldiers under Ibrahim; and though amounting to nearly forty thousand men, they threw away their arms, and never stopped till they had got to the safe side of the river Buk, the ancient Hypanis.

This victory rather alarmed the sultan; who sent ambassadors to Russia to sue for peace, requiring

that the Cossacks should be left to fight their own battles. The czar, in reply, sent an ambassador to the Sublime Porte with letters to the sultan and the vizier, in which he advised them not to flatter themselves that he could be imposed upon by such artifices as the Turks had employed towards the Poles, for their example had set him upon his guard. He required, therefore, that they should desist from an unjust war, and leave Ukrania, to which he had acquired an indisputable right by the resignation of the hetman, undisturbed; but that if the Turks persisted in warfare, they might be assured that Russia would never listen to any terms of peace until she had recovered the rest of Ukrania, as far as Tyros and Asovia. On reading this letter, the tenor of which was so much at variance with the submissive documents usually read in the royal presence, the vizier summoned a privy council, at which all the chief officers of state were assembled; and after a long discussion war was decided upon. Accordingly the Russian ambassador was sent back with a haughty reply. The sultan, accompanied by his vizier, led his army out of Constantinople; and the first campaign of the Ottoman empire against the czar of all the Russias commenced. The Cossacks, or part of them, had been gained over to the Turkish side; so that, when the vizier by forced marches had traversed Moldavia, he was joined by thirty thousand Tartars and four thousand Cossacks, which, in addition to the eighty thousand Turks he commanded, placed him at the head of a magnificent army of one hundred and fourteen thousand men. The Russians and their

Cossack allies were busy about some fortifications, when this immense army suddenly appeared. Making a precipitate retreat to the nearest fortified city, they sounded the alarm. The vizier hoping to profit by their panic, ordered his kekhia or aide-de-camp to attack the city with a strong body of troops; but after four hours' assault the Turks were completely repulsed, with the loss of the kekhia and two thousand janissaries. The vizier, knowing by bitter experience that all such rash efforts were worse than useless, ordered the generals under him to besiege the city in due form—trenches were dug—ramparts thrown up and batteries planted—when, finding that even all these precautions, owing to the peculiar disadvantages of their position, had no good effect, under the advice of a renegade Pole he caused bridges to be thrown across the morass. On the opposite side of the city, while these were being erected, a sanguinary battle was fought on the outskirts of the morass, wherein the Turks were completely routed; and the pasha who commanded these forces, so soon as his troops had safely crossed the morass, set fire to the wooden bridges; fearing lest the Russians might follow the flying forces into the centre of the Ottoman camp, and taking advantage of the panic annihilate the Turkish forces. Seeing winter nigh at hand, and that hitherto he had only had the disgrace of being well beaten, the vizier determined on a final attempt to besiege the city. He laid three mines under the walls, and springing them rushed in, followed by the Turkish soldiery: the garrison, finding that they had no chance against overwhelming numbers, fled out of

the opposite gate ; not however before they had laid a train which led right under the powder magazine, and which blew up just as the Turkish soldiers were crowding round the building in search of booty, destroying and maiming a number of them. The next day this city, called "*Chehrin*," was razed to the ground ; because the Turks found it impossible without great charge and loss of time to repair the walls so as to afford shelter to their forces. Both armies then withdrew to their respective provinces ; the Turks murmuring loudly against those who had supported a war which had been productive of so much harm to themselves ; and the vizier as loudly lamenting, when too late, that he had not advocated a pacific policy. The Cossacks were now a terrible scourge to the Turkish frontiers—a rupture with Germany ensued, and the Turks began to prepare for the celebrated siege of Vienna. Peace had been concluded between the Russians and the Turks, when new commotions in Hungary occupied the attention of the sultan. Emeric Tekeli had about this time revolted from the emperor of Germany, and in a few months had enlisted the sympathies of nearly all his countrymen ; but finding himself unable to withstand the power of the emperor (who having concluded peace with France had assembled all his forces to suppress the Hungarian revolt) Tekeli applied to the Turks for succour, promising to pay them forty thousand rix dollars annually by way of tribute, and to assist them with thirty thousand Hungarians whenever such assistance should be needed.

The sultan long deliberated whether the assist-

ance now asked for should at once be granted, or delayed till the expiry of the twenty years' truce, in the interim according to the rebels only secret assistance. The latter opinion was supported by all the ulemas and by the sultana mother, whose opinion had much influence, declaring that it was unjust to wage war with a power which had not given cause for complaint. But the sultan and the vizier were of a contrary opinion. At length their influence prevailed—the janissaries having been previously bribed, clamoured loudly for war, declaring that Tekeli was a subject of the Ottoman empire, and that no one should insult him with impunity. The old lady's conscientious scruples were brought over by a promise of increasing her pension by three hundred purses annually; and after her consent had been obtained, the mufti publicly declared in favour of war. Leopold sent ambassadors to Constantinople to endeavour to counteract the hostile feelings of the Porte; for at that moment he could ill afford to encounter so powerful a foe. But the vizier, without awaiting the arrival of the ambassador, sent six thousand men, to assist Tekeli, and ordered the prince of Transylvania to combine his forces with those of Hungary against the mutual foe. The same year the Hungarians, thus strengthened by reinforcements, took Cassovia, Eperies, Leutsch, and other places; the German garrisons retiring with the hopes of concentrating their forces, and awaiting a favourable opportunity. The Turks reckoning already upon victory, declared Tekeli king of Hungary, exhorted all nobles who had remained loyal to the German emperor to sub-

mit to their new sovereign, and attacked, though unsuccessfully, the fortress on the island of Schutt. The vizier meanwhile, to gain time for his preparations, was amusing the German ambassadors with hopes of peace. At last, when he had received intelligence of the successes of Tekeli, he sent for the German ambassador Caprara, and told him that the sultan would consent to peace on no other terms than the restoration of Hungary to its state in the year 1067 of the Hegira, the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins to the Ottoman Porte, the demolition of Leopoldopolis and Gutta, the resignation of Neulrasehmla and Ekilt with the island of Schutt and the fortress of Muran to Tekeli, a general amnesty to the Hungarians, with the restitution of their estates and privileges.

These exorbitant demands being, as he knew they would be, peremptorily rejected, the vizier forthwith proclaimed war, and ordered the horse-tail—the insignia of warfare—to be immediately hoisted before the palace-gate. A few days after this the vizier left Constantinople with great pomp, accompanied by all the chief functionaries of the empire. Arriving at Adrianople, the expedition made preparations to winter there. The sultan, who had thus far accompanied the troops, handed over the standard of Mahomet to the vizier, exhorting him to every act of courage; and while he returned to the comforts of his capital, the Turkish forces proceeded to Belgrade, and passing on to Essek, the vizier was received by the new king of Hungary; who, accompanied by three hun-

dred nobles, came out to do him honour, and to welcome his arrival. A few days afterwards the wily vizier summoned a council of war, to which he invited all his pashas; and Tekeli, from his knowledge of the country, was admitted to the council, and first called upon to speak. The vizier, aware that in so great an undertaking things might not turn out as well as he expected, and desirous to guard against the consequences of any unforeseen calamity, had summoned the assistance of all those officers; so that in the event of any disaster, he might shift the blame off his own shoulders, or, at least, make the burthen lighter by causing others to bear it with him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Speech of Count Tekeli—European affairs—Vienna—Its importance—Tekeli's advice—Confusion at Vienna—The vizier marches upon the city—General assault—Negligence of the Vizier—Alarm of Leopold—Defeat of the Turks—Siege of Vienna raised—Destruction of the Turkish army.

COUNT TEKELI was, as we have already seen, the first person called upon to advise relative to the meditated siege of Vienna; and his speech upon this occasion has been preserved by the Turks. "To those who engage in great undertakings, there are three things, O most invincible vizier, that are absolutely necessary:—money, men, and, above all, prudence, as the directress of all actions. With the first the soldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed; with the second, the enemy is to be routed, and all obstacles removed; and by the last, the too great ardour incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. Without prudence, the greatest treasures and forces have often proved unsuccessful; and with it small armies have frequently overthrown extensive kingdoms—as is sufficiently attested by the Ali-Othman empire.—And this alone we need to consider; since the Ottoman empire has raised so great treasure

and forces, that they seem to surpass even fame. There are two expeditions proposed to the Ottoman soldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantageous to the empire — the siege of Vienna, and the conquest of the whole kingdom of Hungary. Should I reject the former, and declare it greatly detrimental to the Ottoman interest, I shall, perhaps, to the generality appear absurd; but not to those who thoroughly understand the position of European affairs, much less to this august and wise council before whom I now deliver my sentiments in obedience to the most invincible vizier's command. Vienna is too remote from the borders of your empire; and though it may not be so strong as to be impenetrable to the Ottoman valour, yet it will be in vain to expect its capture at the first assault. Before you reach it you must pass through the enemy's country, in many places defended with considerable fortresses and castles, the garrisons of which will never cease to annoy you; and while they dare not face your army, they will intercept stragglers until they shall be entirely subdued. If by the bravery of the garrison of Vienna, which I presume will not be weak, the siege shall be prolonged, the Ottoman empire will be exposed to greater danger than any since the taking of Constantinople, and the establishment of its dominions in the west. The provisions for such an army for several months cannot possibly be brought in at one time; and consequently will be interrupted by the enemy, who will also plunder your baggage, and by their sudden incursions so weary the army, and reduce it to such

extremities, that it must either perish with hunger, or abandon the siege with great loss and dishonour. But should this expedition be attended with better success, and Vienna surrender to your arms, unless you shall think proper to abandon it of your own accord (which I hardly believe you will do), it appears to me that your empire will be involved in a more dangerous war; for that city is reckoned the bulwark of Christendom, and the Christian faith would be thought entirely ruined if Vienna remained in your hands. To rescue it therefore from destruction, all the Christian princes will at the first rumour of the siege undoubtedly unite, and forgetting their private quarrels, take the most effective measures to stop the progress of your victories. The king of France is your ally, but not so far as to suffer the Christian religion to be utterly extirpated. He permits the emperor of Germany to be pressed, but it is with no other view than to enlarge his own dominions, and prevent that prince from having it in his power to hurt him. He is by no means desirous of having you, who are more powerful and opulent, in his neighbourhood. The German princes frequently refuse their emperor aid, or contribute as little as they can, lest the emperor should receive too great an accession of power and make an attempt upon their liberty. But if they should see their own dominions exposed to the utmost danger, they would unite all their forces in their mutual defence and oppose your designs. Besides, if they found that there was no other chance of safety, and their distressed country could not be otherwise protected, they

would voluntarily submit to the king of France, and declare him emperor: and if he join even the residue of the Germans to his own army, he will become more formidable than you imagine. You ought therefore to be cautious, lest while you endeavour to suppress a weak enemy, you raise up against you another much more powerful, and unwittingly furnish him with arms against yourselves. If you consider these things, most invincible vizier, and weigh them in the balance of your prudence which is known to the whole world, you will perceive how difficult and dangerous this expedition is, and will turn your thoughts to some other scene of action in which the Ottoman valour may exert itself with less hazard and more advantage. That scene is Hungary—a large and fertile kingdom, which, after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no *other* province has done, obstructing for two ages your victories, now voluntarily submits to your laws, and even earnestly sues for your assistance. The states of this kingdom for the most part follow my banner—the rest, who are still subject to the emperor of Germany's tyranny, wait only for an opportunity to show how weary they are of its yoke; which opportunity if you grant them, I do not see what method you can take more advantageous to the Ottoman empire; for when all Hungary is once subdued and settled, there will be no obstacle to your reduction, not only of Vienna, but of all Germany, in one campaign. That kingdom will supply you with abundance of provisions, which may be safely conveyed when the

enemy's garrisons are destroyed, and will prove a perpetual and sure magazine for expeditions to any quarter. If therefore I may be allowed freely to declare my opinion, I say that nothing can be more beneficial to the Ottoman affairs than to employ this whole year in subduing and settling the kingdom of Hungary; taking the castles still possessed by the Germans, fortifying them, and furnishing them with garrisons and stores for two or three years; so that they may be secure from the enemy and famine, and, withal, gaining the affections of the Hungarians and confirming them in their obedience. If these measures be taken, I am in hope that next winter I shall have above eighty thousand of my countrymen in my camp: but because it would be needless that so great an army should be fatigued in marches and sieges, it is my advice that the vizier himself, if he thinks proper, encamp about Buda or Belgrade, with the greater part of the army, and by his presence restrain the rebels or those who endeavour to throw off their subjection; march against the enemy if their troops should appear and defeat them; if they retire into cities and castles, send the Tartars and other light-armed troops into the neighbouring provinces of Germany, Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, with orders to lay waste these countries—to destroy the standing corn everywhere—to carry away, or if that cannot be done, to burn all that is laid up. By these means the enemy's army will be dispersed without difficulty or danger, and will not be able to subsist, either in this or the next year, for want of corn. If this be done, I dare

engage that not only Vienna, but likewise the whole German empire, will be the reward of a single campaign."

The members of the council, feeling the weight of his arguments, would have openly supported the Hungarian's opinion; but they dared not go against the known inclinations of the grand vizier: consequently they chose a middle course—they neither assented nor dissented—and the vizier, pretending that his intention was to follow the advice of Tekeli, marched with his forces to Yavarin, and encamped under the walls of that city. Scarcely, however, had he opened the trenches, when his scouts brought intelligence of the disorder and confusion reigning at Vienna, whence Leopold had departed to Luicia; telling him moreover, that the walls of the former city were in a miserably dilapidated condition, the garrison weak and filled with alarm, the magazines void of ammunition and the provision storehouses empty, and the inhabitants too paralyzed with fear to adventure resistance. This was a chance not to be neglected by the ambitious vizier; but fearing openly to oppose the will of the other pashas, he first artfully worked upon the cupidity of the most powerful portion of the army; and the janissaries with their aga, having been excited by large promises of plunder and increase of pay, the rest of the army was soon persuaded into the same opinion by that powerful body. Against this measure the pashas openly protested; but their arguments were of no avail. The vizier produced the sultan's firman by which he was endowed with vice-regal authority. Their military discipline immediately obeyed. The tents

were struck, and in a few hours the whole of that powerful army was on its march to attack the bulwark of Christendom. In their progress, they overtook and put to the sword several baggage detachments, which had been delayed by the badness of the roads. At last they appeared before the walls of Vienna. The tents having been pitched, and trenches opened, they made themselves masters of the outer works, blowing up and battering down the walls with mines and a fierce cannonade. A terrible assault then took place; and the garrison fought with the valour of despair, disputing every inch of ground with the besiegers. Had the Turks maintained the energy of their first assault, it is more than probable that Vienna would have fallen; but that undue confidence which ever accompanies a haughty spirit, now caused the vizier to lose a rich prize when almost within his grasp. The well-known Arabian saying, which is so characteristic of their indolent disposition, was on this occasion illustrated by the actions of the vizier. Bokera (or Sabak) Mashallah — To-morrow, if it pleases Allah—was his procrastinating motto; and by it he lost the victory. In his self-assurance of success he had written to the sultan to tell him that next day he would send him the keys of the city—not that he intended doing anything of the kind. His projects soared to a higher pitch; for he aimed at the absolute and independent sovereignty of Germany, hoping to found a Mahometan empire in the west which should eclipse the crown of Othman. The Germans meanwhile, using the influence of the pope, had formed an alliance with the Poles; and

Charles, duke of Lorraine, had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Christian forces. Hearing of the intended invasion he had encamped with his army not far from Vienna, on the confines of Hungary and Austria, so as to be in a position to provide for the exigencies of either country. Leopold, hearing that Hungary had been abandoned by his troops, left Count Staremburg to defend Vienna, and himself retiring to Leucinna, summoned all the neighbouring princes to raise the standard of the cross against the crescent.

The siege of Vienna was still continued, but with little energy; the provisions expected from Hungary had been, as Tekeli predicted, intercepted; while, to add to the horrors of their position, famine stared the Turkish forces in the face. To remedy this evil, the vizier dispatched twenty thousand men to assist Tekeli in attacking Posonum, a weaker fortress than the others in Hungary; but Prince Louis of Baden, sent by Lorraine to intercept them, met with and completely vanquished Tekeli's forces, and the Turks also, who in this engagement lost a thousand waggon-loads of baggage, besides an immense number slain. This loss irritated the janissaries; they became reckless and indolent, and the whole army caught the infection. Still the vizier remained obstinate, and the officers and soldiers sunk into that profound inertness from which they have never since been roused, until Omar Pasha shook them from their slumbers and led them on to victory at Citate. On the approach of the Polish auxiliaries the Turks made not the slightest effort to prevent their junction with the Germans; and

when the united forces marched against the invaders wholesale desertions commenced. At last they stirred themselves to one last desperate effort, for the armies of the Christians were marching against them. Thirty thousand luckless beings, who had fallen into captivity when the forces first entered Germany, were recklessly massacred, and the battle commenced. The rest is told in a few words. After a feeble resistance, the Turks fled, pursued by the Poles, towards their camp at Yavarin. The Germans followed, and the allies signally defeated the Turks, a second time, near the Danube. On this occasion, numbers of Turks were drowned, by a bridge giving way under the heavy pressure of the fugitives. Strigonium was assaulted and taken, and the siege of Vienna by the Ottoman forces was brought to a final termination by the defeat and utter destruction of the Turkish army.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The vizier executed—Breach with the Venetians—Declaration of war—Military operations—Misfortunes of the Turks—Death of Mahomet—Succeeded by Suliman the Second—Revolt of the Janissaries—Civil discord—Surrender of Cassovia—Secret embassy—Siege and surrender of Belgrade—Peter the Great—Mutiny in the Russian army—Death of Suliman—Ahmed the Second—The vizier's popularity.

THE rest of Mahomet the Fourth's reign was one series of troubles and warfare. For some time the vizier who had so rashly urged on the Vienna expedition escaped the vengeance of his royal master; but at last he fell into the snare which he had prepared for those who had partaken of his misfortunes in that memorable campaign, and was strangled.

In this year there was a breach between the Turks and the Venetians, owing to the dishonesty of the ambassador of the latter power, who endeavoured to defraud the customs authorities by passing the wares of merchants subject to his flag free of duty, under the plea of their being personal effects and furniture. On this being discovered, the goods were confiscated, together with the ships that brought them. This led to vexatious differences between the two powers, which were augmented by the escape of a Venetian nobleman, who had formerly been taken by the Turks, and sold into slavery. He succeeded in

reaching the deck of one of his own Venetian vessels, where he was carefully concealed till the ship should put to sea; but the Turk who owned him, being informed that his slave was on board, applied to the vizier to recover for him his property. Accordingly the ships were searched. The sailors in defending their countrymen were overpowered by numbers, and some of them slain. The sultan hearing that some Turks had also fallen in the affray, detained both the Venetian ambassadors, refusing to release them until he had been paid a most unreasonable sum. This happened during the siege of Vienna; and the republic of Venice, uncertain as to the results of that expedition, deemed it expedient to take no present notice of the insult. No sooner however had the news of the Turkish defeat reached them, than they demanded satisfaction; this being refused, they made alliance with the Germans and Poles, and proclaimed war against the Porte. The Venetian ambassadors, having duly delivered this declaration, prudently disguised themselves and fled from Constantinople. Well it was for them that they did so; as the Turks were furious to find themselves menaced by another power, which, though not considered very formidable, might still seriously annoy them at a period when there was no fleet to bring against it, and when the treasury and forces were sufficiently occupied in the pending wars with the German states and Hungary. On this account the vizier offered to make ample restitution, if the Venetians would revoke the declaration of war: but they had too long been subjected to Turkish arrogance, and in common with all Christendom they

burned to be revenged for injuries, the catalogue whereof reached over centuries. While these transactions were occupying the Porte, the imperial army under the Duke of Lorraine marched into Hungary and conquered Pesth, besides several other cities. At Buda, however, they were not so successful.

Under the duke's instructions, Count Lesley had entered Sclavonia, and defeated the Turkish auxiliaries in two pitched battles, besieging and taking Wirrowik; and about the same period the imperialists at Eperes, or Upper Hungary, routed the rebel Tekeli, possessing themselves of his cabinet and baggage. In Moldavia and Wallachia however, Anger Suliman Pasha was successful. These provinces were then respectively governed by Demetrius and Serban Cantacuzeni; the former, having been detected in a secret correspondence with the courts of Germany and Russia, was deposed by Suliman; and the latter would have shared the same fate, had he not bribed the Turk with large sums of money. Constantine Cantemir was placed over Moldavia; and while these affairs were proceeding, the Poles entered Moldavia, but were put to flight by the Turks, who seized and destroyed all their baggage. The Venetians commenced the war in Dalmatia on land; while their fleet bombarded and took Prevesa, and several other important Turkish towns; destroying a number of the Ottoman ships—the commencement of a series of misfortunes, which continued for three years without intermission. The Turks were rapidly losing what their ancestors had won; and Mahomet the Fourth, whose early reign had been crowned with brilliant successes, and enlightened by a glorious

perspective, ended his reign under the gathering shadows of adversity, being compelled by his own people to abdicate his throne, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the forty-fourth year of his reign. He remained five years a close prisoner in his own house, and then expired—whether in the natural course, or from the effects of poison, must remain undecided. He was succeeded by his brother Suliman the Second, who was taken from the prison where he had been long confined, direct to the vacated throne. The first intelligence of his sudden exaltation extremely annoyed Suliman; who implored his liberators to let him pass the few days that yet remained for him upon earth in the privacy and seclusion of his cell. After much difficulty, however, he was persuaded out of his prison, still fearing that treachery was at work, and that his unloving brother was only seeking occasion to work his ruin; being at length convinced that the people were in earnest, he consented to be crowned. His first act was very inconsiderate; for he confirmed in the post of vizier a man who had forfeited public esteem during his brother's reign, and who now drew down upon himself the vengeance of that fierce and powerful body, the janissaries. A rebellion broke out amongst them; and the vizier having secured himself and followers within his palace walls, still further inflamed their sanguinary spirit by resorting immediately to arms and killing about twenty of their corps. A frightful conflict ensued, which terminated in favour of the janissaries. The vizier was literally hewn to pieces, and his followers killed or maimed; but even this sacrifice did not

satisfy them for what they accounted past injuries. They were guilty of an act unheard of before or after amongst the Turks, an infamy without parallel in the pages of history, for they burst into the vizier's harem—that part so religiously excluded by the Turks in all emergencies from the intrusion of men—and here, seizing the vizier's wife and sister, they mutilated these wretched women in the most atrocious manner, cutting off their hands, feet, and noses, and committing the most hideous excesses amongst the slaves and female servants. Intoxicated with blood, they thirsted for still more, and sabre in hand rushed through the streets like so many fiends let loose upon earth, killing and maiming every one who had not the good fortune to escape them by bursting into houses and mosques. This dreadful tumult was only quelled upon the standard of the prophet being unfurled, and the muezzin calling all the faithful subjects of the sultan to assemble under it. This they immediately did; and the janissaries throwing away their arms, declared that they had rebelled not against the sultan but against his vizier, and that having taken vengeance upon him they were now entirely satisfied. The calm, however, endured but for a few days. The new vizier, acting under the instructions of the sultan, endeavoured to seize the ringleaders of the late revolt, in order that they might be summarily punished; hereupon another mutiny broke out. The vizier escaped to Rhodes, and the attempt was relinquished.

These disturbances at the capital gave rise to others in Roumelia and Asia Minor; and the janissaries refused at first to bestir themselves in

repressing these troubles; nor was it till the last moment that they were brought to their senses, when they defeated Greduill, one of the rebel pashas. Several important cities in Hungary were wrested from the Turks by the imperial troops: and amongst others who surrendered to the emperor was the heroic wife of Tekeli, who had defended Cassovia up to the last moment, and was then induced by famine rather than by force of arms to capitulate. News of these disasters, instead of reuniting the Turks, only served to widen the breach—the whole population, soldiers and all, were divided into several factions, and the Ottoman empire was upon the very verge of a civil war. To escape from the fury of the populace the sultan retired to Adrianople; though to effect even this short journey, so exhausted was the royal treasury, he was compelled to sell the gold and silver vessels of the seraglio, besides some costly jewels from the harem. Suliman disliked war, and the turmoil of busy life; and would fain, had he been permitted, have devoted his days to study and agriculture. To effect this without giving a publicity which would have drawn down the vengeance of the people upon his own head, he dispatched to the emperor of Germany Alexander Mavrocordatos, interpreter to the Sublime Porte, who, under the plea of announcing to that potentate Suliman's accession to the throne, was instructed secretly to conclude a treaty of peace, upon what terms the Christian king might propose. Meanwhile the Turkish forces were ordered into the field under a seraskier, the vizier having refused

the command ; but before the Turkish troops were assembled the imperialist forces were committing great depredations in the field, wresting, one after another, important towns and cities from the Mahometans ; till, at last, the elector of Bavaria crowned these victories by the siege and conquest of Belgrade. The ambassadors now reached the elector's camp ; but he declined all communication, referring them at once to Vienna. The prince of Baden defeated and routed a considerable body of Turks in Bosnia. While these victories were heaping laurels upon the German forces, the Venetians had been not less successful in another part of the Ottoman dominions. Athens had been added to their conquests in the Morea, and in Dalmatia their troops had been eminently successful. On the arrival of the Turkish ambassadors at Vienna, negotiations for peace were at once entered upon ; and terms were proposed, which would doubtless have been accepted by Suliman, had not the king of France at this critical moment stepped into the field, and, without an assignable motive, other than envy of their victories, declared war against the Germans, moving at the same time his forces from the Rhine to the Danube. The imperialists subdued nearly the whole of Servia ; and Peter the Great raising numerous forces invaded the Crimea. It is said that three hundred thousand Russians and fourteen hundred pieces of artillery were intended for this expedition ; but the attempt was thwarted by a mutiny amongst the czar's troops, which not only impeded the achievement of conquest, but exposed them to the vengeance of their

enemies; so that the Russians returned home without having accomplished any thing. A dreadful punishment however awaited the ringleaders of this disturbance—on their arrival in Russia the czar closely investigated its cause: finding his own sister implicated therein, he caused her to be shut up in a monastery; banished their general to Archangel, put to death eight of the nobles, ordered, as some say, twelve thousand Strelitzes to be publicly executed; and, having abolished this military order, he founded a regular militia. Troubles continued in Turkey, all through the reign of Suliman. Sometimes the Turks were successful; but in most instances they were defeated. The glory of the Ottoman empire was speedily setting, and only its shadow now hovered over the descendants of Suliman the Magnificent. This latter Suliman died, after a brief reign of three years, from the effects of dropsy, in the fifty-third year of his age. Mahomet the Fourth was yet alive when the sultan that had deposed him was carried to his grave, and the people were at a loss whom now to call to the throne; at last their choice fell upon a younger brother, who was proclaimed sultan, under the name of Ahmed the Second. This prince was almost half-witted, and the crafty vizier who had been instrumental in getting him proclaimed, thought it wisest to carry off his royal puppet to Adrianople, the day after his proclamation, lest, by any act of folly, he should betray his incapacity to the people; and having safely deposited his precious charge within four stout walls, the vizier bestirred himself in active preparations

for war. Volunteers flocked to his standard in such numbers that he found it absolutely necessary to restrict generals of divisions from enlisting more than a certain number of soldiers ; but to appease the ardour of these latter he caused it to be proclaimed, that the expedition being destined only against Giaours (Christians) only a few brave Turks were required, and that the others were more necessary to guard over the peace of the empire. Had he so desired, he might have enlisted a more formidable army than had ever yet issued forth from Adrianople to contend for the faith of the prophet. This, however, was rendered imprudent, and indeed, impossible, by the necessity of their passing through an enemy's country, the emptiness of the public treasury, and the scarcity of provisions. This unprecedented circumstance of the vizier being overwhelmed with applications from volunteers, while it made him exceedingly popular with the soldiery, tended not a little to excite the envy and spleen of other courtiers who were desirous of distinguishing themselves, and acquiring the favour of their sovereign and their country. Being, however, unable to accomplish this, they most unjustly tried to defame the reputation of the man who was a hinderance to their ambition : but the attempt failed, and the vizier ultimately succeeded in setting his heel upon his chief antagonist.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Plot against the vizier—Embassy from England—March of the Turkish army—Death of the vizier and rout of his army—Capture of Garbusa—Negotiations for peace—Reception of ambassadors—Popularity of Lord de Redcliffe—The war renewed—Surrender of Scio—Death of Ahmed—Mustapha the Second—Death of John Sobieski—Disasters of the Turks—Treaty of peace.

THE vizier was apprized by a mute that the minister of the Ottoman empire was plotting against his life; and, understanding the dumb man's signs, he ordered a horse to be instantly saddled, and sending for the commander of the janissaries, acquainted him with the plot, which concerned these soldiers hardly less than the vizier himself. The aga, upon hearing this, could hardly restrain his indignation against the sultan, who was swayed by his courtiers as boughs are shaken by the wind; declaring that if he persisted in his folly they would revolt against his authority. Thus supported, the vizier set both intrigues and intriguers at defiance; and having insisted upon the sultan punishing his slanderers, he had the satisfaction of seeing some of them exiled, while the principal offender was hanged. This established his authority and influence with the Sublime Porte. Three days after, the vizier marched at the head of the army to Adrianople; when an ambassador arrived from William the

Third of England, offering his royal master's services as mediator between the Ottoman empire and the Germans. The British ambassador was received with high consideration, which was especially flattering in those days to the nation which he represented; but while the vizier declared himself ready to agree to peace upon honourable terms, peace in reality was furthest from his thoughts, and he merely wished to keep the Germans in suspense until he could possess himself of Buda. Having reached Belgrade with his army, he found the Prince Louis of Baden had already taken the field and advanced as far as Peterwaradin. On receipt of this intelligence the vizier held a council of war, at which it was determined to attack the enemy immediately. The Turks encamped to the right of the imperialists; and hardly had they taken up their position before they discovered an auxiliary force which was marching to the succour of the Germans. This force the Turks surrounded, and though they fought with the greatest courage, not one of the five thousand Christians escaped, being either killed or taken prisoners. This was the signal for a general engagement, and a battle ensued which lasted six hours; when a musket-ball hit the vizier in the temple, and his death so discouraged the Turks that they fled in confusion. Not less than twenty-eight thousand Turks fell in this battle; while the Germans, according to Turkish historians, barely lost three thousand. The prince of Baden recovered Lippa from the Turks; while the Poles attempted a descent upon Bessarabia, but being pressed by want of provisions were forced to relinquish their enterprise.

Meanwhile the Venetians and the Turks were carrying on a desultory war: the latter became masters of Garbusa, an almost impregnable castle in Candia, through the treachery of one Aloysius, a Spanish officer, who, to revenge some injury done him by the Venetian governor, determined together with his junior officer to deliver up the castle; for which service he received from the Turkish government an annual pension, which continued for a few years, and was then gradually reduced, till at last he received nothing but the disgrace attached to his treachery. Ali Pasha was now appointed vizier; he immediately revived the peace question, and lent a favourable ear to the propositions made by foreign ambassadors, more especially by the English ambassador Lord Paget, and by Collier, who represented Holland. The former left a very good name behind him among the Turks; for he was not only very learned and well skilled in the Greek and Turkish languages and in many sciences, but he was moreover a prudent man, and understood perfectly well the way of obtaining anything from a Turk. Sandys, in his travels into Turkey, which were about contemporary with the embassy of Lord Paget, gives an amusing description of the reception of ambassadors by the sultan at that period, and which may give some idea of what ambassadors had to undergo.

Truly they must have been temperate and prudent men to acquire such a reputation as Paget left behind him. He says, "When the sultan entertaineth ambassadors, he sitteth in a room of white marble, glistening with gold and stones, spread with curious carpets, and accommodated with cushions

of admirable workmanship, the pashas of the bench being by, who stand like so many statues without speech or motion. It is now a custom that none do come into his presence without presents—first fastened upon his pashas, as they say, by a Persian ambassador, who thereupon sent word to the sophy his master, that he had conquered Turkey. The stranger that approacheth him (the sultan) is led between two—a custom observed ever since the first Amurath was slain by the Servian Cobelitz, a common soldier, who, in the overthrow of Cosova, rising from among the dead bodies, and staggering with his wounds, made towards the sultan, then taking a view of the slain, as if he had something to say; by whom admitted to speak, he forthwith stabbed him with a dagger hid under his cassock for that purpose. They go backwards from him, and never pull off their hats, the showing of the head being held by the Turk an opprobrious indecency.”

This is rather a different method of coming into and leaving the sultan's presence than that which is adopted at the present day; and if in Achmet's time a Russian envoy had presumed to enter the royal presence in a shooting-jacket, he would have come out, not with his hat upon his head, but with no head on his shoulders. In the present enlightened times, our noble ambassador smokes his pipe and swallows his sherbet seated side by side with the sultan, with whom he can even occasionally venture to crack a joke; and if Paget left a name behind him honoured among the Turks, what shall the pages of history ascribe to the name of Lord de Redcliffe, through whose influence and exertions

other nations have been able to treat with Turkey on a footing of equality; and Christians under the Ottoman sway have been brought to enjoy privileges heretofore unknown in Turkey.

But to return to the reign of Ahmet the Second. The British and Dutch ambassadors very soon found that their plans for peace were thwarted by the French; who, presenting the vizier with exorbitant gifts and abundant gold and silver, soon brought him to side with them against Germany—the more so as letters recently received from Moldavia stated that the Germans were in a terrible want of supplies, and in other straits beside. War was accordingly renewed; but the shocking cruelties practised by the vizier compelled the sultan to supersede him, appointing the Governor of Damascus his successor, by whom the war was carried on with indefatigable zeal. The Venetians made an attempt to recover Candia; but after several assaults were repulsed; but in Dalmatia they routed the Turks, and took the general a prisoner. The Venetians again made a desperate push at the Turks; and would unquestionably have obtained the dominion of the sea, had they but acted with prudence and moderation. Early in the spring they sent out a fleet, which, by the invitation of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Scio, vigorously attacked that island; and the Turkish pasha having only a few soldiers in garrison, and finding himself deserted by the Christians, surrendered the city to the Venetians; who, to gratify the Pope, shut up the Greek churches, prohibited divine service in the Greek tongue and the rites of the Eastern church, constraining the

Greeks to conform to the Roman Catholic religion. They then resolved upon besieging Smyrna; but the English French and Dutch consuls meeting the Venetians upon their march, interposed for that city; urging, among other reasons, that almost all the warehouses at Smyrna were full of British French and Dutch merchandise; for which if damaged or plundered, their respective nations would hold them accountable. This was the last move of any importance during the reign of Sultan Ahmet; who died, leaving his empire surrounded with enemies, and almost wholly ruined. He had reigned four, and was at his death fifty years old.

Mustapha the Second now came to the throne; he was a warlike prince, and assumed the personal command of the Turkish army. Crossing the Danube near Belgrade, he attacked and took Lippe and Titul, while his general succeeded in intercepting Veterani with seven thousand Germans, who were marching to reinforce Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony. Veterani being wounded, the Germans lost courage and fled. Peter the First, Czar of Russia, was resolved to utterly exterminate the Tartars of the Crimea, who committed sad ravages in Moldavia; but his troops being then unaccustomed to sieges, were repulsed from Asac—the strongest bulwark of Crim Tartary. The Turks were this year more successful against the Venetians; for these having claimed the mastery of the sea, no Turkish ship had ventured out of Constantinople. Annoyed hereat, the Turks resolved upon reorganizing their navy; and Medzomute, an African son of Moorish parents, who was then only commander of a single ship, offered

his services, promising to recover Scio. The Turkish admiral treated him with contempt, but the general of the forces approved of the scheme—which in the end was successful, the Turks recovering Scio—when Medzomute was made admiral of the Turkish fleet. The Ottomans were also successful in repulsing Frederic Augustus; while the Poles continued inactive. John Sobieski their king died, and Peter the Great again marched against Asac; assaulting it with such vigour that the garrison, then reduced by the Russian sword, surrendered the castle on the 6th of July, 1696. Peace was again offered through the medium of the Dutch and English ambassadors, but rejected with scorn by the sultan, who was defeated with a considerable loss by the Germans on the banks of the Tibiscus. The rest of the reign of Mustapha was one continual scene of warfare; and perhaps never in the annals of Turkish history had the Ottomans met with so many and such disastrous defeats; and these repeated misfortunes at last opened the eyes of the sultan to the necessity of concluding a peace; and though the French ambassador did his best to prevent any such result, his intrigues being at this time frustrated, at length a treaty was drawn up and signed by the sultan and all the ambassadors, with the exception only of the French. The terms of this truce were with the Emperor of Germany for twenty-five years, with Russia and with the Poles two years. The conditions of the first were—that all Transylvania should be resigned to him, besides Lippha; other towns strongly fortified were to have their walls demolished; the navigation

of the Tibiscus and Maros be free to the subjects of both empires, and the country between the Danube and the Tibiscus to remain in the hands of the emperor; that the boundary of the eastern part of Hungary should be a right line drawn from the mouth of the Maros through the banks of the Tibiscus to the mouth of the Bosut, where it falls into the sea; that towards the south the Save should part the Turkish from the imperial boundaries till it receives the Unna; that no new castles, other than Belgrade and Peterwaradin, should be erected or fortified anywhere within these boundaries. The Venetians obtained the Morea, besides some other advantages, all which have since become null and void.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Discontents at Constantinople—Insurrection—Attack on Adrianople—Desertion of the sultan's troops—Abdication of Mustapha—His death—Ahmed the Third—The rebels punished—The vizier banished—Charles the Twelfth and Stanislaus—Battle of Pultawa—The Russian ambassador imprisoned—Battle of Peterwaradin—Intrigues in Moldavia—Great victory of the Russians.

THE treaty of peace concluded between the Turks and the belligerent powers in lieu of producing the expected results led to the greatest disasters. Secret influence was at work to ruin those who had suggested and carried out the project; and the fanatical population of Constantinople were furious against the sultan the vizier and the mufti, for truckling, as they declared, to their detested Christian enemies. This led to differences between the mufti and the vizier, which resulted in the latter being put to death by the sultan's commands. "*But,*" says a Turkish historian, "*from the vizier's blood, as from a fountain, torrents of human blood flowed.*" The people, headed by the ulemas, rose in a body, protesting against the new administration of affairs, and insisting that the sultan should reside at Constantinople, not at Adrianople, where he was beyond the influence of the citizens inhabiting that city. In the year 1081

of the Hegira, these murmurs, which at first found an echo only in the minds of the discontented, now burst out with uncontrollable force, owing to the caimacan (or auditor-general) not only refusing to pay some troops their long-due arrears, but loading them with abuse for presuming on such a demand, when they were aware how empty was the public exchequer. Enraged at this, the deputation that had waited upon the caimacan, standing upon the public stairs of his office, retaliated the insults heaped upon them with gross abuse—this led to a struggle; when the deputation, being nearly overpowered, cried out for assistance from their fellow-soldiers, and this call was responded to from all quarters of Stamboul, the caimacan's house was surrounded, and he himself escaped, having compromised by his rashness the sultan and the empire. Finding that the object of their wrath had escaped, the soldiers, joined by the janissaries and the ulema, bound themselves by an oath not to desist until they had made away with the vizier and mufti, and others whom they termed the oppressors of the people. They accordingly appointed their own officers of state, and agreed to shut the gates of Constantinople, so as to prevent the sultan from being informed of their proceedings; and suffering no man to quit the city excepting their own messenger. They ransacked the magazines and armouries, and armed themselves against the government. Notwithstanding all their precautions, Sultan Mustapha was advised of the rebellion; and alarmed at their proceedings, despatched an envoy to inquire the cause of grievance,

and to promise, if they peaceably returned to their houses, that whatever was just and equitable should be done. Instead, however, of listening to the unfortunate man's errand—indeed without permitting him to utter a word—they dragged him from his horse, and nearly beat him to death. They then marched against Adrianople; declaring that if the Mahometans of the city impeded their progress, or offered the slightest resistance, they would raze it to the ground. From Hapta they sent a message to the sultan, that the movement was not directed against himself or his throne, but against his evil-minded ministers, and the courtiers who poisoned the air of his seraglio:—but that if force was resorted to, he would be accountable for the needless effusion of Moslem blood. At the same time they sent a similar message to the inhabitants. On receipt thereof the sultan assembled his forces, and despatched them under his vizier to repulse the rebels; but when the two armies arrived in sight of each other, Nokyb Effendi, who acted as mufti among the people, held up the great volume of the Koran to the sultan's troops, and crying out with a loud voice, desired them to consider that they were brethren of the same religion and blood, and subjects of the same empire; that the people of Constantinople had not taken arms to overturn the empire, or attempt anything contrary to the sacred law of the Koran, but to punish infidels and contemners of the law, agreeably to its precepts; and that, if they endeavoured to oppose so pious a design, they would draw upon themselves not only the indignation of Allah, but the severest punish-

ments. This speech had quite a magical influence upon the sultan's troops, who to a man deserted the vizier, and saluting the rebels as brethren joined their forces. The vizier fled in disguise, accompanied only by two faithful slaves; to Varna, whence he embarked for Constantinople, at which place he lived incognito in the suburb of Eyub.

The mufti was not so fortunate; for being captured with his two sons, and after being subjected to the most refined tortures, in the vain hope that he would reveal the spot where he had concealed his immense treasure, was thrown into the river, being considered by the fanatics unworthy of a Mussulman's grave. The conspirators surrounding the sultan's palace, sent word to the sultan's brother, Ahmet, that they were unwilling to intrude upon the abode of royalty; but that if he would come out to them, either with or without his brother's consent, they would immediately proclaim him sultan. This message was intercepted by Mustapha, who upon reading it was perplexed how to act; his courtiers recommended that he should immediately put his brother to death, as the conspirators would then be obliged to confirm him upon the throne; but, to the honour of this sultan be it said, that his heart revolted against the fratricide, and he accordingly resolved at once to abdicate in favour of him upon whom the choice of the malcontents had fallen. He accordingly went to his brother, and informing him of the choice of the rebels, desired him on his departure to assume the imperial power. Mustapha implored him to remember that while he was on the throne himself had enjoyed every liberty

and privilege, and all he now asked was, that in his misfortune he might receive the like consideration; furthermore warning him to remember that those who had chosen him were rebels, and that if he did not speedily weaken their power, they would treat him even as they had treated himself. This was the wisest speech ever made by Mustapha; whose mind, unable to resist adversity, rapidly sank into a melancholy which in a short time brought him to his grave, after having reigned eight years and nine months, six of which latter were passed in illness and retirement. Ahmed the Third now ascended the throne. He was compelled, as a matter of course, to fall in entirely with the views of the people who had elected him; and having confirmed in their offices all those whom they had chosen as vizier, mufti, &c., Ahmed left Adrianople and returned with the court to Stamboul, where he distributed with a liberal hand the largesses or buxihishes usually made to the army upon the accession of a sultan. Having thus quieted and gained the confidence of the rebels, acting upon his deposed brother's advice, Ahmed the Third concerted privately the best means of punishing the rebels, together with his own brother-in-law, who was now advanced to the post of caimacan. To effect this it was absolutely necessary that he should detract from their strength by gradually, and without arousing suspicion, separating the most influential among them, and sending them upon various pretexts to the most distant provinces of the empire. He therefore commenced by appointing the ringleader of the rebellion, Carakash Mehemed, to a distinguished post at Mecca, present-

ing him with the usual caftan and sword ; but at the same time despatched secret instructions to the Pasha of Aleppo to strangle him immediately on his arrival at that city. He then invested the principal aga of the janissaries with the dignity of a pasha of three tails ; and three days afterwards sent for him with great pomp, signifying his intention of conferring upon him the seals of the viziership ; having once got him within the precincts of the castle he had him seized and put on board of a galley, with instructions to the captain to throw him into the sea. A few days afterwards he deprived the vizier of his post ; but knowing that this man had been forced to assume office, Ahmed contented himself with banishing him to Embacht. Silahdar Hassan Pasha was raised to the vacant post of vizier ; and this man contrived within the short space of five months to cause about fourteen thousand private soldiers, who had been privy to the rebellion, besides pashas and other officers of the army, to be secretly drowned in the Bosphorus. Only two men of distinction escaped this wholesale slaughter. Of these, one fled Constantinople and was never after heard of : the other, being especially influential, was spared, till a favourable opportunity occurred some years later for his being sacked and thrown into the sea.

In the year 1084 of the Hegira, Chorluly Ali Pasha, a man of mean extraction, but wonderful genius, was advanced to the post of grand vizier. This man was a great advocate of peace ; and during his administration the Ottoman empire received the visit of two such distinguished guests as never, before or since, have honoured the sultans

of Turkey with their presence. These were two crowned heads—Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and Stanislaus, who had been advanced (though unjustly) to the throne of Poland. Charles had compelled Augustus to abdicate the kingdom of Poland in favour of Stanislaus; and having done this, he marched with his whole forces against Peter the Great, who had been the ally of Augustus, threatening to depose that mighty potentate. At first he had resolved to penetrate into Russia near Plescow; but was deterred from this attempt by Mazeppa, the hetman of the Cossacks; who induced him to march towards the Ukraine, by offering to cede to the Swedes his provinces and forces. During this march, Ali Pasha, an inveterate enemy of the czar, ordered the Cham of the Crimea to assist Mazeppa in carrying out his offer to the Swedes; promising that he would send a numerous army of Turks to unite against their common enemy, Russia, and restore the Cossacks to their former liberties. Mazeppa, confiding in these promises, sent for the king of Sweden. But the vizier and the cham having failed to act up to their promises, the battle of Pultawa took place, wherein the Russians utterly routed the Swedes; and the king sought sanctuary amongst the Turks. The next year, Augustus being restored to his throne, Stanislaus and the Waywod of Kiow, with many other Polish noblemen, joined Charles in his place of refuge. Both kings were received with great distinction; but the vizier, notwithstanding the strenuous remonstrances of the Swedes the French and Stanislaus, confirmed the treaty with the Russian

ambassador. But the King of Sweden's exertions, though frustrated at first by the vizier, were eventually successful; for he persuaded the sultan to depose the vizier, and to break the treaty which had been made with the czar. War was now openly declared by the Turks; and the Russian ambassador was thrust into the prison of the Seven Towers; his effects were confiscated; and there is little doubt but that himself would have been put to death, had not the new vizier exerted all his influence to deter Ahmed from imbruing his hands and sullyng his fame by so outrageous an act. He assured the sultan that thus to violate the sacred character of an ambassador would change the whole aspect of affairs, and call down upon Turkey the indignation of all Christendom. So the Russian's life was spared; and the sultan, in a fit of generosity, sent Charles of Sweden five hundred purses, or about two hundred and fifty thousand piastres, besides placing at his disposal thirty magnificent Arabians, and bestowing upon him other costly and royal gifts. The Swede, though he accepted this munificent gift, took every occasion of protracting his departure; and openly ascribing the arrangement with the czar to the influence of Russian gold, conducted himself with no small roughness toward the vizier. It became necessary that Ahmed's royal visitor should be removed by actual force from Bender in Moldavia, where he had some time been located. This event belonging rather to the history of Sweden than of Turkey, suffice it here to say that it was effected with all the delicacy which could have possibly been exer-

cised toward a prince of Charles the Twelfth's peculiar temperament.

Shortly after this affair, Ahmed reconquered the Morea from Venice, which had been cedèd to that state by the treaty of Carlowitz. Germany declared war against the Turks, who were signally defeated by Prince Eugene at Peterwaradin in Hungary. They also lost Temeswar and Belgrade; and thereupon they made peace with Germany and Venice.

The sultan now obtained information that Russian spies were busily at work within his dominions; and that the Prince of Wallachia was holding secret correspondence with the czar, to whom he had promised thirty thousand men if he succeeded in penetrating into Moldavia; and, moreover, that the czar had conferred upon the traitor the insignia of St. Andrew. These transactions were reported by Mazeppa; and as to displace the man openly was dangerous, Demetrius Cantemir, who had upon Nicholas Mauvrocordato's deposal been appointed Prince of Moldavia, was instructed to seize the person of the traitor, under colour of friendship or any other pretext, and when he had possessed himself of the principality of Wallachia, to assume to himself its government. But the Turks playing false with him, he abandoned their cause and went over to the Russians. Upon this the czar's troops invaded Moldavia; but being deceived by Brancovan, they were nearly reduced by famine, when reinforcements arrived from Russia to take Braila by assault and furnish themselves with what they most required. Meanwhile, a powerful Ottoman army having crossed the Danube, the czar recalled his

forces and sent his troops to oppose their progress. The Russians were giving ground, retiring in order before the overpowering army of the Turks, when Demetrius Cantemir with his forces very opportunely arrived to their assistance, and repulsed the Turks with considerable loss. The czar, however, thought it best not to prosecute the war for the present; so, burning all the superfluous and empty waggons, he made a retrograde movement with his army; which being interpreted into a flight, they were hotly pursued. The Turks brought four hundred and seventy cannon to bear upon the Russians, who had only thirty. The janissaries made a vigorous assault, returning to the charge seven times; but they were repulsed with very great slaughter, and the Russians, though fighting under every disadvantage, gained a most decided victory. After four days' contest, the Turks being worsted and the Russians not in a position to follow up their advantages, peace was concluded; the King of Sweden vainly endeavouring to interrupt it. The Turks returned to their camp, and the Russians marched back into their territories. The Affghans having revolted against Persia, their chief Mahmoud deposed the Shah Thamas, and possessed himself of the throne. A civil war ensuing, Ahmed despatched thither an army; and having, after several important conquests, beaten the old Shah (who had been restored by Kouli Khan) at Eryvan, granted peace on the addition of Georgia and Armenia to the Moslem empire. This sacrifice was repudiated by Kouli Khan; whereupon the renewal of the war requiring fresh taxation, the Turkish people, supported by

the janissaries, insisted on the dethronement of Ahmed. Aware how fruitless would be his resistance, he quietly resigned the crown to his nephew Mahmoud, and betook himself to the safer and happier state of privacy.

CHAPTER XXX.

Retrospect of Turkish history—Mahmoud the Fifth—His character—His death—Osman the Third—Mustapha the Third—Disastrous war with Russia—Death of Mustapha—Abdul Hamyd—His wise government—His death—Selim the Third—Buonaparte—Massacre at Jaffa—Revolution at Constantinople—Selim deposed—He is murdered—Mustapha the Fourth—Deposed by Bairactar—Mahmoud the Sixth—Revolt of the janissaries—Death of Bairactar—War with Russia—Mehemet Ali—His vigorous government—Massacre of the mamelukes—Battle of Navarino—Invasion of Syria—Defeat of the Turks—Interference of Russia—Successes of Ibrahim Pasha—Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi—Oppression of Syria.

THUS far have the records of eleven centuries been traced in blood—a fearful catalogue of civil discord and slaughter, of foreign rapine and desolation. War, as undertaken for national glory or power, had ceased with Saladin, the last hero of the Saracenic line; and thenceforth it was waged for personal ambition or aggrandizement. At the deposition of Ahmed the Third, this national reproach had happily begun to decline. With the fourteen thousand soldiers whom he consigned to the Bosphorus, the ancient system of cruelty and massacre drew towards its close; though, till the reign of the present sultan, it could hardly be said to have been abolished. The light of civilization had meanwhile reached the borders of the Ottoman empire, gradually advancing to its

centre, and covering its extremities. As time wore on, those European nations which had so long been the friends or the foes alternately of Turkey, fell into decadence, till not a vessel bearing their flags was to be seen upon the Turkish waters. Other nations, and mightier, sprang up, and became, as circumstance prevailed, her allies or her enemies.

A brief view of the sultans, whose line succeeded Ahmed the Third, may suffice.

Mahmoud the Fifth, who, like some of his predecessors, now stepped out of a prison into a palace, began his reign by abolishing the new tax; but as the insurgents did not lay down their arms, he ordered their leaders to execution, and so restored for a while tranquillity. The Russians having again, in conjunction with the Austrians, attacked Turkey, he restored Georgia and Armenia to the Persians, and occupied himself entirely in this new war, wherein he recovered the city of Belgrade, and also the important province of Servia. A peace, which continued unbroken for several years, ensued.

Though Mahmoud was naturally humane, his internal rule was disastrous and oppressive. The government was left in the hands of his officers, under whose pillage and extortion the people grievously suffered. He was also devoted to the arts, and to the extension of commerce; so much so, that until apprized of these abuses by one of his viziers, they had wholly escaped his knowledge. Thereupon he took the matter into his own hands, and summarily applied to his unjust ministers the usual Turkish remedy—decapitation. The remainder of Mahmoud's reign was prosperous and tranquil, disturbed only

by the earthquake which shook Constantinople and Cairo, in 1754, and by the sickness which, in the same year—the twenty-fifth of his sovereignty—brought him to the tomb, regarded and regretted.

His brother Osman the Third succeeded—a weak and frivolous man, who employed his short reign in regulating the dealings of pedlars, the apparel of the Turkish ladies, and the beards of the boatmen on the Bosphorus. It lasted quietly enough through three years, when Mustapha the Third, a son of Ahmed the Third, ascended the throne.

This prince, too, had been brought up in seclusion—or, in a more Moslem-like phrase, in prison. His first measures were, according to his own habits, applied to the legislative reform of the prevailing luxury and extravagance; but he soon found himself obliged to less peaceful duties, and to declare war against Russia, whose proceedings as to the Polish throne, then vacant by the death of Augustus the Third, occasioned much jealousy in the sultan. In this, however, his attention was divided by Ali Bey, who had declared himself Sultan of Egypt. The Turkish arms were unfortunate. The town of Bender was taken by the Russian leaders, Prince Galitzin and Count Romanoff; and the provinces of Bessarabia and Moldavia unresistingly submitted, while the troops sent by land to the Morea were worsted, and a large fleet which had been sent to attack the Russian ships in the Archipelago was totally destroyed. These disasters were followed by the loss of the Crimea, which was taken by Prince Dolgorouski. Ali Bey, however, had been attacked by his own principal general, Mohammed

Bey, who obtained the chief power in Egypt, and acknowledged himself the vassal of the Sultan Mustapha. In this year Mustapha died, leaving the empire to his brother Abdul Hamyd, passing by his son Selim, whom he considered of too tender years for the weight of its sovereignty.

Abdul Hamyd opened his reign with an act of combined humanity and wisdom, not very usual in Turkey. Instead of consigning his young nephew to the seraglio in which his own life had been passed, he gave the boy every comfort and advantage, having him at his own side when he rode out, and upon all public occasions. He enacted many salutary laws, and redressed many grievances. Moreover he concluded the best peace which the late reverses could enable him to obtain from Russia; acknowledging the independence of Crim Tartary, and ceding Azof to the Russians, but keeping Wallachia Moldavia and the islands of the Archipelago. Russia, however, soon laid her hand upon the Crimea, which was surrendered to her by the khan; and Abdul Hamyd found it necessary to renew the war, during which he died, in the fifteenth year of his reign.

The new sultan, Selim the Third, found himself, on succeeding his uncle, in a position of extreme difficulty. His Christian subjects in Albania Serbia and Bosnia were in open insurrection; Syria had declared herself independent; the Wahabites had possession of the chief towns in Arabia; while Russia and Austria were pursuing their successes against him. He was therefore obliged to purchase peace by fresh concessions of territory, whereby his

empire was yet further weakened. During his reign, the first coalition of the European sovereigns was formed against revolutionary France ; which however was not acceded to by Turkey till 1798. In that year, the republican general Buonaparte invaded Egypt, capturing Alexandria and Cairo. The mamelukes fled ; and he was preparing to push his conquests into the British possessions in India, when Admiral Nelson totally destroyed his fleet. Nevertheless, he persisted in his expedition against Palestine ; and in its progress committed the inexorable and ineffaceable massacre of twelve hundred Turkish prisoners at Jaffa.

In this year a revolution broke out in Constantinople ; when Selim was deposed, upon the pretence of his having introduced among “ the true believers ” the customs and manners of infidels. Shortly after, he was murdered by the order of his cousin and successor, Mustapha the Fourth.

Within two months, Mustapha was deposed in his turn by Bairactar, the Governor of Rudshuck, an attached follower of the ill-fated Selim—who had raised an army of Albanians and marched to Constantinople for his restoration. But Selim was beyond the reach of foe or of friend ; and Bairactar could only drive the usurper from his blood-bought throne, and place upon it his victim’s younger brother, Mahmoud the Sixth.

This sovereign, the father of the present sultan, began his reign by appointing Bairactar, his brother’s avenger and his own best benefactor, to the office of grand vizier, with unlimited authority. The reforms which Selim had begun, and which cost

that ill-fated sovereign his throne and life, were zealously carried out by Mahmoud, to the great discontentment of the janissaries and of the bigoted populace. A new rebellion broke out—in resisting which the faithful Bairactar was slain. Mustapha was obliged to temporize with the insurgents, and forbear his reforms until a more favourable season.

The war with Russia continued; when in this year peace was effected by the sultan's sacrifice of Moldavia and Bessarabia. At this period, one among the most remarkable personages of an age fertile in illustrious men entered upon the scene. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, was the son of a Roumelian fisherman. He had been sent into Egypt as a private soldier, with a detachment, for the purpose of expelling some Frenchmen left there by Buonaparte. Endowed with extraordinary courage, a firm character, and a talent for intrigue, he soon found opportunity to distinguish himself; gaining immense influence over the whole army of Egypt. Ere long his pleasure upheld or changed the governors appointed by the sultan, till finally he found opportunity to usurp the supreme power; and sending his son as hostage for his fidelity to the Sublime Porte, he was in 1805 confirmed by Selim in that dignity. Under his sway Egypt underwent a complete revolution; for though he could neither read nor write until he had attained the age of forty, his vigorous mind comprehended all the advantages accruing to Egypt by the introduction of European civilization. He encouraged French English and Italian adventurers to settle in Egypt; employing them in the various departments of his

civil and military service. Beneath his strong rule internal discord was crushed, and by one single stroke he rid Egypt of an incubus which had weighed heavily upon the country through many centuries. No plea of expediency or necessity can palliate his massacre of the mamelukes; compared with which, the long catalogue of murders recorded in Moslem story pales its blood-red brightness.—Having invited the whole corps to a public banquet, at his signal the artillery played upon them from every quarter of the citadel; till, of sixteen hundred unarmed and unsuspecting men, one only escaped to tell the treachery of that festival.

The connexion of Mehemet's history with the reign of Mustapha, requires a somewhat lengthened detail of this extraordinary man's subsequent actions. He incorporated the Albanians into a regular army;—he made himself the terror of the Wahabees and Bedouins—Mecca and Medina were wrested from them by the valour of his son Ibrahim; Nubia and Abyssinia yielded to his sway; but the greatest blow which Mehemet ever received was the annihilation of his fleet by the combined forces at Navarino. Speedily, however, he constructed a new fleet; so that in three years he had replaced the damage, building more than thirty men-of-war, eleven whereof were line-of-battle ships, besides establishing a disciplined army of 130,000 men.

In recompense of these exertions, he received from the sultan the island of Candia, a gift which he requited in a most dishonourable manner; for knowing how Turkey was weakened by domestic broils and foreign wars, he not only ceased to pay tribute to the

sultan, but refused to assist him in his last war with Russia, and in 1831 he openly raised the standard of revolt. A powerful Egyptian army entered the confines of Syria; Mehemet declaring that Abdallah Pasha, of Syria, was his personal enemy, and that as the Porte had refused to chastise him, he should take the matter into his own hands. Ibrahim Pasha met with but little resistance; he subdued Acre, made Abdallah prisoner, and subjugated the whole of Syria, the most fertile country in the world, though, owing to the oppressive system of government, scantily populated. Avoiding a war with so formidable an enemy, Mahmoud declared his revolt treasonable both to his sovereign and his faith—a declaration which Mehemet Ali completely disregarded. A considerable Turkish force now marched through Asia Minor to repulse the invading Egyptians; but Ibrahim Pasha had fortified the narrow defile of Kulek Bogas in the Taurus range, and the Turks getting entangled amongst the fastnesses were completely defeated. A yet more powerful army was despatched by the sultan, and met with a still more signal defeat between Conia and Scylla in Asia Minor. Reschid Pasha, the grand vizier, who commanded this expedition, was severely wounded and taken prisoner; and, the sultan having no army, the Egyptians occupied Smyrna, and showed themselves on the outskirts of Broussa. Even at the beginning of this revolt the sultan had asked the interposition and co-operation of his European allies, trusting that England and France would speedily rid him of the invaders, but he trusted in vain. Fruitless negotiations were carried on with Egypt, whilst fire and sword

had penetrated even to the very heart of the Ottoman empire. Russia was the only power that displayed any energy of action—on the very first outbreak the Russian consul had been ordered to leave Alexandria. This act awakened the liveliest gratitude in the sultan; and the czar sent an ambassador to Alexandria, at the same time that an order was issued to the fleet in the Black Sea to hold itself ready at a minute's notice to sail for the defence of Constantinople. The Russian general Muravieff, was received with distinguished honour by Mehemet Ali, who promised to put an end to hostilities, and actually despatched injunctions to Ibrahim Pasha to terminate the war. In this interval, however, the sultan, alarmed at the encroachments of the Egyptians, and ignorant of the success of the Russian mission, had applied to the ambassador of that nation for assistance, and the fleet weighing anchor at Sebastopol, bore up with all sail for the Bosphorus. Meanwhile information arrived of the proceedings in Egypt, and Ibrahim informed the sultan that he had checked the progress of the Egyptians, and was himself halting at Kutiah. The Russian fleet was accordingly countermanded; but no sooner had the messenger left, than hostilities recommenced in Asia Minor; Magnesia was subdued and Smyrna overpowered. Luckily the courier missed the Russian admiral, who with a squadron of five line-of-battle ships and four frigates anchored off Constantinople, and their appearance not a little alarmed the people. The French ambassador protested against the measure, but the sultan asked and

obtained a reinforcement of twenty Russian ships, which, under the command of Orloff, anchored at Buyukdere; whilst ten thousand infantry under Muravieff encamped on the Asiatic shore, ready to repulse Ibrahim Pasha. This movement on the part of Russia created a panic all over Europe; but on this occasion the Russians acted with strict honour. The emperor declared that his fleet and army should remain in the positions they had already taken up, until the Egyptian army, on its return home, had crossed the Taurus. Mehemet Ali recalled his army from Asia Minor, and Ibrahim Pasha was accompanied to the confines of Syria by a Russian officer, deputed to see that the stipulations were duly performed. The Egyptian troops encamped on the borders of the unwholesome marshes of Alexandretta, when the troops under Muravieff were put on board the Turkish fleet, and this latter sailed for Sebastopol. Hereupon the Turks and the Russians concluded the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi; whereby the sultan bound himself, among other engagements, to the closing of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against the fleets of every foreign power. Under the influence of England and France, a treaty was signed which led to the pacification of the sultan with the Pasha of Egypt; this latter not only retaining his post, but governing Syria, with Damascus and Aleppo, whilst Ibrahim Pasha retained the district of Adana, with the strongly-fortified position of Kulek Bogas on the Taurus. And there both father and son remained in power, tyrannizing over the inhabitants, and impoverishing the country by cutting

down and laying waste the magnificent forests which constitute one of the chief sources of Syrian wealth until by encroachments and injuries they drew down upon themselves the indignation of Great Britain and our Napier read them at the cannon's mouth a memorable and well-remembered lesson.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Greek war—Death of the Emperor Alexander—Accession of Nicholas—Invasion of Servia—The Duke of Wellington—Treaty with Russia—Insubordination of the janissaries—The sultan resolves on their destruction—Insurrection—Demands of the janissaries—The sultan assembles his troops—Attack on the janissaries—Their destruction—War in the Morea—War with Russia—Capture of Varna—Treaty—Greece independent—Otho elected king—Death of Mahmoud.

IN 1821, the first great disturbance in Turkey took place that occurred since the accession of Mahmoud to the throne: the Greek revolutionary war commencing under Alexander Ypsilanti. The Morea revolted; and the result was a frightful massacre of the Greeks at Constantinople. Next year the Greeks declared themselves independent. In 1824, Ipsaca was taken by the Turks, and retaken by the Greeks with terrible slaughter; and in the following year the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha landed on the Morea. At the same time Alexander the First, the Czar of Russia, dying, left his empire involved in disagreements with Turkey, and was succeeded by the present Emperor Nicholas; Constantine, the rightful heir, having waived his claims in favour of his brother. The Ottoman court was charged by the Russians with having violated the treaty of Bucharest, by which it had engaged to grant a general amnesty to the Servians,

England, interposed; and, in the midst of
bles, Nicholas came to the throne. Our
ington was sent as ambassador to the
ersburg, for the purpose of sound-
emperor as to his intentions towards
and the result of this embassy was ulti-
y the battle of Navarino. The duke signed the
protocol on the 23rd March, 1826. In this interval
a courier had been despatched to Constantinople
by Nicholas, offering, in the absence of all foreign
mediation, to renew the suspended negotiations,
and stipulating that within six weeks the Turkish
troops should evacuate the Danubian principalities,
restore the rights of the Servians, and send pleni-
potentiaries to treat at one of the towns of New
Russia. The sultan emancipated the Servian depu-
ties, promised to confirm the privileges of Molda-
via and Wallachia, and sent two ministers to nego-
tiate, at Akkerman, with Counts Vorousloff and Ri-
beaupierre. After high words and threats on both
sides, the sultan agreed to all the articles of the Bu-
charest treaty. In this year another tragedy was
acted at Constantinople itself, even while the sur-
rounding provinces of the empire were deluged with
the blood of the Greek revolution. The janissar-
ies had reached the climax of insubordination.
Their brains being heated with drunken revelling,
they had given full scope to their hereditary fanati-
cism. Tyrants over sultan and citizen, and ac-
quiring daily by their sanguinary outrages fresh no-
toriety—the terror of friends and of foes—these
miscreants would stagger through the streets, and,
unsheathing their sabres and calling upon “God

and his Prophet," cut down every Jew or Christian who came within their reach. A fearful people, then to reckon as subjects and to dread as demons ! Mahmoud secretly determined to rid himself of so formidable a scourge : but it required immense wariness not to arouse the suspicion of a people in whose memory the fate of the mamelukes in Egypt was hardly effaced. Time and opportunity presented themselves to Mahmoud when the Greek revolution broke out. The effervescence of the whole corps, who were then roughly embued with the fanaticism of the Ottoman Turkish school, prompted great numbers of them to volunteer against the infidels ; much to the gratification of the sultan ; — till the more reflective portion of the janissaries began to marvel how it was that, of all who had volunteered, not one man had returned to Stamboul. This was quite enough to arouse their suspicions. Treachery was loudly denounced ; and the whole body mutinied, resolving to obtain satisfaction respecting their missing comrades. Hussein Pasha and Sultan Mahmoud could not have better devised a plot for their destruction. The most dangerous of the number were lying deep under the wave, or equally secure under ground upon the shores of Greece how, or by whose hand they died, is a secret, buried with Mahmoud and the courtiers of his palace. The aga had sold his faith and honour for gold, as had the principal officers ; so that the actual number of fighting men amongst the janissaries was small when compared with their nominal force. Its many privileges and exemptions had induced thousands of citizens to purchase admission into the corps

Of course these latter possessed neither the courage nor the zeal of the janissaries. Such was the constitution of the corps, when, on that memorable day, they marched into the Etmeidan and drew up in battle-array, prepared as heretofore to dictate terms to him who was nominally their master and sultan; and, fully relying upon their own indomitable courage, they had come armed only with their sabres and a brace of pistols a-piece—arms which they seldom laid aside, even during the hours of sleep. Horsetail standards and flags were planted in front of the corps, and the aga rode along the ranks inquiring the causes of discontent. The answer was just such as was to be expected from a body of men whose whole spirit was in rapine and bloodshed. They demanded the abdication of Sultan Mahmoud—the heads of the viziers, and of those who had introduced and supported military reform—the disbanding of the sultan's trained troops—the sacking of Pera—the destruction of the Giaours of every creed in the town, especially the European ambassadors at Buyukdere and Therapin—three months' pay—a month's rations—and a war against Christendom. To these demands the aga replied, that he would at once proceed to the seraglio, and lay them before the sultan; adding, as he left, that this was only a form, as he knew even beforehand that their desires would be instantly gratified. The sultan at once gave Hussein Pasha full power to act; and, summoning the chief mufti, the two pashas took the command of the trained troops. The sultan unfurled the green standard of the Prophet, and, marching through the city called

the faithful to rally under its signal. The summons was generally obeyed by the population, and every man came armed with whatever he could lay his hand upon; but the beys effendis, and agas rode out of their court-yards, each trying to outrival the other in the number and arming of his retinue. Simultaneously with the movements of this mass, the trained troops, with some artillery and a considerable body of Galiongees and armed sailors, joining the Albanians, advanced from the water's edge. The batteries were manned—the port closed—a flotilla of armed boats stretched across the Golden Horn, whilst the vessels of war opened their ports, and swung broadsides on to the city. The janissaries calmly awaited the aga's return, with the order for the sacking of Pera. Suddenly a shout arose—it was of the janissaries mocking the first column of the regular troops as they marched into Etmeidan. They now saw the treachery of their aga, and they turned to hasten back to their barracks and arm themselves—when lo! a huge dark column of smoke and flame rose up against the clear blue sky of Stamboul—their barracks were in flames—a masked battery dealt forth death amongst their ranks—and the artillery on the Etmeidan side poured destruction upon them. The rest is soon told. The regular troops and the irregulars closed round these terrible men, yet more terrible by desperation. The sultan, with his undisciplined crowd, had joined the conflict. The last of their number fell heavily and bit the dust, as the setting sun tinged the shores of the Golden Horn. The contest was over, and Sultan Mahmoud had relieved

his state and his capital of fifteen thousand dangerous enemies! It may be questioned whether, in the year 1827 Mahmoud did not repent him of that massacre, when, as we have already noticed, the combined forces of England Russia and France destroyed his fleet at Navarino, and when Russia singly declared war against him. The Greek revolutionists had resolved on resisting, even unto death, the abhorred yoke of the sultan. The European powers offered their mediation; but Mahmoud was resolute, and gave orders to his Turkish and Egyptian troops to utterly lay waste the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago. Ibrahim Pasha spared neither sex nor age—uprooting olive trees, burning towns and villages, and devastating fields. On the proposition of St. Petersburg, a treaty was signed in London between France Russia and England, on the 6th July, 1827; then came Navarino, which only tended to exasperate Mahmoud; so that the ambassadors of the allied powers quitted Constantinople, and a hattı scheriff was published there for the arming of the whole nation to defend the faith and the empire. The sultan proclaimed Russia the eternal and irreconcilable enemy of the Porte, and attributed to her emissaries the rising of the Greeks. The flag of Russia was insulted, her ships detained, the Bosphorus closed, and—to crown all—her diplomacy with Persia broken off through Turkish influence, at the very moment when a treaty was about to be concluded. The war of Russia with Turkey commenced by a united attack of the land and sea forces of the czar. Counts Wittgenstein and Eranvaskii and Prince Menschikoff

commanded the land forces, Admirals Greig and Heyden the fleet. 15,000 men crossed the Pruth towards the end of April. Jassy, Bucharest, and Kraioff were subdued, and Moldavia and Wallachia protected from a threatened incursion of the Turks. The labours of the Russians upon the banks of the Danube were immense, owing to the overflow of the river and the active annoyance kept up by the Turks, who erected batteries, threatening by a cross-fire to prevent the construction of a bridge. An incident favoured the Russians. The Zaporoyksi Kazoks, hearing that the czar in person commanded this expedition, expressed a wish to pay their homage to the head of their faith; and, delighted with Nicholas' urbanity, they agreed to return to the bosom of their native country. The whole settlement, with their hetman, accordingly passed over to the left shore; thus placing at the disposal of the Russians several light boats, which enabled the Russians to cross over and capture the Turkish batteries, planting the Russian flag on the right bank. The Russians tried, but failed in their attempt, to take Shumla. With Varna, however, they were more successful, though not till after a three months' siege. The possession of this city gave the Russians considerable advantages; and its conquest was followed by other important victories, both in Europe and Asia; so that the sultan was at length compelled to sue for peace, and a protocol was signed by England, France, and Russia, in which Greece was recognized as an independent kingdom under the protection of the three powers; its sovereign invested with the title of king, to which dignity one of the princes of

Europe was to be chosen by the allies, who further stipulated that he was not to be akin to any of them. The choice fell at first upon Leopold of Saxe Coburg (very shortly after created king of Belgium), who declined the honour. Otho of Bavaria was then chosen, and ascended the throne in the month of May, 1832. After this Mahmoud was quiet. The English drove the Egyptians out of Syria for him; and he signed a treaty of commerce between England and Turkey, by which all British merchandise was admitted into the Ottoman dominions at an *ad valorem* duty of three per cent. and two per cent. inland duties. The next year Mahmoud died, and his son Abdul Medjid ascended the throne, against whom enmity or calumny has nought to urge. His known liberality and virtues stand forth the more boldly when brought into comparison with the character of his long line of ancestors.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Accession of Abdul Medjid—His toleration—Insubordination of the beys—Present state of Turkey—The sultan's firman—Liberality to the Jews—Defeat of Ibrahim Pasha—His oppression of Syria—Ignorance of the people—Anecdote—Alexandretta—The scribe—Antipathy to writing.

IMMEDIATELY upon the accession of Abdul Medjid to the Ottoman throne a spirit of toleration developed itself in his first acts of power. Enlightened civilization dawned once again over a land long obscured in barbarism; and it became evident to nations interested in the welfare of Turkey, that under his rule the empire must make rapid strides in the path of civilization. These expectations have in a great measure been realized; but they would have been productive of still more beneficial effects had there existed any possibility of carrying out the good-will and purpose of the sovereign, in provinces which were separated by the intervening distance from the influence of beneficial example, and which set the arm of the law at defiance. The threats and the support of ambassadors barely extended into Asiatic Turkey. Perhaps in the immediate neighbourhood of cities wherein a consul resided, some few of the reforms introduced by Abdul Medjid were partially acknowledged and adopted; but in much the greater part of Asiatic Turkey

these firmans were perused and placed under a divan cushion ; the Turks of the old school, who through successive generations have been accustomed to lord it over all other tribes inhabiting the Mahometan territory, setting their faces against any approach to reform, and when attempts have been made to enforce the same, resisting *vi et armis* such encroachments upon their unjust and self-established privileges. This has often happened, and still happens, in Antioch, Adana, Marash, and other fanatical Turkish towns ; where not one of the sultan's many reforms has yet been productive of the least benefit to the rayah population, or indeed to the advancement of civilization, agriculture, or commerce. This is an evil that can only be remedied by an entire revolution of the system of government, and by basing it upon a surer and more equitable foundation. The bane of the Ottoman empire is its aristocracy and estated gentry—in other words, the beys, agas, and effendis, amongst whom are divided the richest, if not the entire landed possessions in Syria and Palestine. A scrutinizing revision of the tithe-deeds of these descendants of a set of cut-throat rebels—who are themselves indeed little better than their ancestors, being only kept in check by the force of circumstances, and restrained within bounds by fear of physical force—would cause a vast quantity of land to revert to the crown ; but to accomplish this, Turkey must—for a period at least—be under a military government, with armies officered by Frenchmen and Englishmen, with mixed commissions in civil and judicial offices ; and, above all,

the baneful system of monopoly now existing must be abolished. Then, and not till then, can Turkey hope to benefit one iota from the benignant purposes of Abdul Medjid; and most assuredly, if ever the time for such a revolution was propitious, it is now, when necessity has illuminated the blind fanaticism of the Turks, and when the Ottoman soldiers are forced to acknowledge, that, without the aid of their allies, however they might for a time resist the aggressors, individual and numerical strength must ultimately fail, and their nation be exterminated, and their history closed. One of the first firmans promulgated by Abdul Medjid was, to ameliorate the position of that long-persecuted race, the Jews; and, in this instance, he set an example to other European powers, which some of them must and ought blushingly to own, for it exceeds them in the enlightened spirit of toleration. This firman was dated the 6th of November, 1840, and was addressed to the principal mufti, at Stamboul. Its contents ran as follows :—

“Let that be executed which is prescribed in this firman.

“An ancient prejudice prevailed against the Jews. The ignorant believed that they were accustomed to sacrifice a human being, to make use of his blood at their feast of the Passover. In consequence of this opinion, the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes (who are the subjects of our empire) have been persecuted by other nations. The calumnies uttered, and the vexations practised against them, have reached our imperial throne. Only a short time since, some Jews living in Rhodes were brought to Stamboul;

where, being tried according to the new regulations, their innocence of the charges preferred against them was fully proved. Therefore, what justice and equity required has been done in their behalf. Moreover, the religious books of the Hebrews have been examined by learned men, well versed in their theological literature; and it has been found that the Jews are strongly prohibited not only from using human blood but even that of animals. Therefore, the charges made against them and their religion are nothing but calumnies. For this reason, and for the love we bear to our subjects, we may not permit the Jewish people to be vexed and tormented upon accusations which have no foundation in truth; but conformably to the *hatti scherif* which has been proclaimed at Ghulhane, the Jewish nation shall possess the same advantages and enjoy the same privileges as are granted to the numerous other nations who submit to our authority. To accomplish this object, we have given the most positive orders that the Jewish nation inhabiting the several parts of our empire shall be perfectly protected, as well as all other subjects of the Sublime Porte; and that no person shall disturb them in any manner whatever, (except for a just cause,) either in the free exercise of their religion, or in that which concerns their safety and tranquillity. In consequence, the present firman has been delivered to the Israelitish nation. Mus Yan, (the above-mentioned mufti,) when you know the contents of this firman, you will act with great care in the manner therein prescribed; and, in order that nothing may be done in opposition hereto, at any

time hereafter, you will register it in the archives of the tribunal; you will afterwards deliver it to the Israelitish nation, and take care to execute our orders, and this our sovereign will. Given at Constantinople, the 12 Ramazan, 1256. (6th November, 1840.)"

About the time of the promulgation of this firman, the British fleet and the allies of Turkey had just liberated Abdul Medjid from the insolent encroachments of Mehemet Ali Pasha. Acre, Sidon, and Beirout, had been bombarded, and even the secluded but safe bay of Alexandretta had become the rendezvous of British vessels of war. Ibrahim Pasha had been forced to evacuate his strongholds in Kulek Boghas, and other fortified positions, and the viceroy of Egypt was compelled to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Ottoman empire. Without our interference, Turkey could have never resisted the Egyptian army. However Europeans might have been disposed to incline rather to the Egyptian than the Ottoman power, because Ibrahim Pasha encouraged Franks, and ceded to them privileges—which they too often abused at the cost of the heavily-yoked peasantry—there is 'but one opinion amongst the natives of Syria, Christians, Jews, fellahs, and Turks, which of the two evils was the most endurable burthen. The Egyptian sway was terrible; the memory of Ibrahim Pasha is held in execration by all the peasantry; for under his sway, compelled to labour without stipend or hire, and with barely a sufficiency to support the requisite strength, the people were reduced to a pitiable plight. Whole forests were cleared of timber ex-

ported from Syria into Egypt for the construction of ships and houses, while fertile fields and silk gardens were suffered to go to waste. This was a terrible time for the Christian rayahs; subject as they had ever been to the grossest ill-usage, they never before had been so entirely ground down by serfdom; and the heavy-burthened peasants, toiling and broiling in the hot and sickly plains of Scanderoon—bathed in perspiration, weak from weariness and want, yet goaded on to further labour by merciless taskmasters—even to the present day, when they recall to mind these sufferings the people heap execrations upon the tyranny which now slumbers in the dust. The Egyptians were hardly more severe toward the Jews under Pharaoh, than were these modern sons of the same soil toward the humble and industrious peasantry of Syria. But succour came to them under the mild and enlightened sway of Abdul Medjid; and it came under exactly the same guise as it will now—permanently, I trust—come to them again, never to be driven from the shores of Syria by the iniquitous sabre of tyranny. Yes! the cannon's mouth, and the broadsides of the British fleet, brought Syria peace and succour, and expelled an Egyptian plague, almost as pernicious as that produced by Aaron's mystic wand. Since then the sultan may be said to have enjoyed a fair portion of peace and quiet; striving to do good under the wise counselling of Stratford de Redcliffe, but generally thwarted in his good intentions by the deeply-rooted fanaticism of his people and the weakness of the law, which in Asiatic Turkey was utterly paralyzed by the want of mili-

tary power to enforce its mandates. Meanwhile, trade with Europe and more particularly with England had sprung up, even from the day that the Egyptians had evacuated Syria. The two or three isolated and petty merchants of Beirout gave an impetus to traffic, which very shortly brought over a multitude of speculators, anxious to reap the rich fruit of a country, acknowledged to be the most prolific in the world. Edict followed upon edict, firman upon firman, having for their object the amelioration of all classes ; but more especially intended to benefit the Christians, and all other rayahs differing in faith from the lords of the soil. These have to a certain extent been productive of good, as, though not carried out to their full extent, they have roused the secure indolence of the Turkish aristocracy and landed gentry to the inevitable reforms, which, like an impending hurricane, threaten to sweep away the hoards and possessions of centuries so iniquitiously acquired, and to level their long-abused power in the dust. A due sense of this perilous insecurity has awakened these worthless courtiers to the necessity of caution in their dealings with the community, and more especially with their own peasants and followers, of every sect. While they have not altered the old method of grinding the people down to the lowest practicable extreme of misery, they have desisted from flagrant breaches of law and humanity. Murders are now of rare occurrence ; property is not now so easily confiscated ; and, assisted by the consuls of European powers, the people are beginning to exercise their own judgment, to find use for their tongues

their eyes and their ears; they have learned to remonstrate against acts of more flagrant injustice; but the greatest misfortune of the poorer classes inhabiting Syria is, their want of the rudiments of education.

A scribe is rarely to be found in a village. One who can just manage to read and write his own name, and jot down a few connected sentences, immediately assumes the title of effendi, or esquire, and is looked up to and marvelled at by the vulgar ignorant. In many instances the communications penned by these learned writers are unintelligible to any but themselves; and even instances have occurred of a *writer* being unable to decipher his own penmanship a couple of hours after he had signed his name. An example came under my personal cognizance, when I was stationed at Alexandretta, of the capabilities of these khatebs, or letter-writers, among the Syrians of lower grade. Alexandretta is a port of considerable commercial importance, from the immense traffic passing through it between Aleppo and Europe. The factors stationed there had always their hands full of work, loading and unloading camels and ships. Moreover, it boasted of three scribes out of a population of about two hundred labourers, not including the Greek priest who was wholly innocent of any kind of literature. The possession of three learned men gave Alexandretta a high distinction in Syria generally. It was known as Belad Al Ackali—the town of the learned—almost as well as under the less attractive name of Belad el Suknee—the land of fevers. One day, the most learned of the scribes

was employed by me to note down in Arabic the numbers and weights of some fifty bags of gall-nuts, which had arrived for shipment to England from a native merchant in Aleppo. The learned man put on his spectacles, took out his reed pen, inspected his brass inkstand, and doubled up a corner in the half sheet of paper; he then, stroking down his beard, exclaimed loudly, "El Humel-allah, In-shuker-allah"—God be praised! &c. (I presume, at the thought of his overwhelming and brilliant talents.) We commenced our business. "Sack No. 1," said I, "gallnuts—weight, 56 rototos." After the lapse of about five minutes, this sentence was duly inscribed in Arabic, and read over, sedately and sonorously, by the self-complacent scribe. "No. 2," said I, "gall-nuts—weight, 50 rototos." "No. 2," leisurely repeated the writer, scratching the number down—"gall-nuts—weight"—and here the man paused, and stared me in the face, assuring me, with the greatest *nonchalance*, that I must be in error as to the weight. It was no use trying argument or persuasion with him; threats were equally unavailing; no physical or moral power could induce him to risk his character, as a learned scribe, by writing down what he once supposed a mistake. Lupos, for so was this learned pundit called—a time-honoured name in Scanderoon,—insisted, that if No. 1, which is a less figure in arithmetic than No. 2, weighed 56 rototos, it stood to reason, that No. 2 being the greater number, ought to, and must, weigh more, and not less; so that according to his arithmetic, when one came to reckon up a thousand

sacks of galls, this latter number would outweigh an ordinary mountain. Lupos was replaced by another scribe, a fraction more intelligent and more manageable. Such is the state of education in Syria. Pashas, and agas, and beys, have a mortal antipathy to letter-writers. They would rather yield any point than get embroiled in a correspondence with their superiors at Constantinople. Hence the invariable success of consuls and European merchants, who wield the pen with facility; and hence the degradation of the poorer classes, who cannot themselves make known their wants and miseries to superior tribunals at the Sublime Porte.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Revolution in Hungary—Generosity of the Sultan — Disputes with Russia—Cause of the present war—Prince Menschikoff—His arrogance—Russian occupation of the Principalities—The Sultan declares war—Interference of England and France—Declaration of war—Lord de Redcliffe's circular.

THE designs of Russia had for some time disquieted the provinces of the Ottoman empire; still, by great forbearance tact and toleration, Abdul Medjid managed to avoid all immediate causes of dispute which might involve the empire in difficulties, or afford a pretext wherein the false policy of Russia might find an opening for its unconscionable ambition. What contrivance and cunning could not produce, was however most unexpectedly effected by chance and accident. The revolution and war in Hungary, and the successes of Bem and Kossuth, obliged Austria to apply for succour to her ally, the autocrat of Russia; the result of which alliance and succour was the final downfall of Hungary; when, flying from their merciless pursuers, many of her noblest soldiers—men whose honour and whose courage were untarnished—threw themselves into the Ottoman empire, and, arriving within the confines of Turkey, received that generous protection which one brave people is always ready to afford to another suffering under misfor-

tune. Upon this occasion the sultan had an opportunity of displaying to the world of what material his intellect and spirit were composed, and whether or not the many edicts which he had promulgated had been the impulse of a free and noble intention to do good to all that looked up to his throne for succour and support. The result more than justified the reported fame of the sultan, as being beyond comparison the most enlightened Turk that had ever held the reins of government. Abdul Medjid's frank and disinterested protection of the refugee Hungarians—even at the cannon's mouth, and though menaced with serious danger by the probability of a rupture with two mighty states like Russia and Austria, with all its imminent consequences,—claimed the sympathy of Great Britain, France, and America. No Christian potentate could have done more on behalf of humanity, or have evinced more courage and firmness of purpose. The result was, the protection of many true-hearted men from certain slavery; but though matters were apparently smoothed over by concessions on either side, covered with the gloss of courtesy, an incurable breach had been opened between Russia and the Porte (wherein Austria's ultimate hostility against the latter may perhaps be expected); while the former power silently resented this hindrance, and proceeded in its work to extinguish the nation, which in behalf of humanity had crossed the will of the autocrat. The publication of the correspondence between Russia and England has thrown much light upon the purposes of Russia. It remains only for us briefly to review the immediate cause which led to the declaration of war; and,

earnestly praying that God may defend the right, we cannot better conclude our history of the rise and progress of Islamism, than by quoting verbatim the last circular issued by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, relative to the nature of our alliance with the present sultan, and to the consequences which the Greeks, and their tools in the hands of Russian diplomacy, may expect from our government for their unjustifiable interference. There never was a better representative of a Russian bear than the unlicked cub so aptly personated by Prince Menschikoff, the last Russian ambassador to the Ottoman Porte; outraging all propriety; scorning, as only such men of such a nation could scorn, that self-respect whose first law must among civilized people ever be a due yielding of respect where such respect is the rightful tribute of birth, education, character, and position—all which were combined in the person of Abdul Medjid, the Sultan of Turkey, a disciple of her Prophet, and outraged by the ambassador of an autocrat professedly combating for the furtherance of the Christian religion and for toleration of creed; whereas the very lesson taught by the Founder of that very creed, to render unto all men their due, was in this particular instance trampled upon by the costume and language which outraged the dignity of the musnud. But the Turk on this, as indeed on all other occasions, has acted the part of the Christian gentleman—of a noble-minded chivalrous man; not suffering any mark of displeasure to interrupt the course of the *interviews* which ensued. Menschikoff acted and spoke at variance with what he had proclaimed originally as his

mission—the cause of the Greek church, was swallowed up by the rod of ambition and territorial advantage. His rhetoric, his threats, and his promises were equally unavailing. His jesuitical deceit was laid bare; and the man left Stamboul after having earned a well-merited character for shallowness and deceit—such a character as well suited the disposition of his royal master—who praised the God of mercy and long-suffering in a *Te Deum*, chanted for the massacre of Sinope. The hateful shadow of Menschikoff had hardly quitted the soil of Turkey before a *casus belli* occurred.

On the 2nd of July, 1853, a double passage of the Pruth by Russian troops was effected, and possession taken of the two Danubian principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia. This was prefaced by a manifesto, stating that the occupation of these principalities was indispensable to guarantee Russia in the re-establishment of her rights, and was not to be considered as a declaration of war. This act of aggression gave rise to that interminable series of notes, which at last became a perfect nightmare to all parties interested in the Eastern question, impeded our fleets from entering the Black Sea, and from preventing, or, if too late to prevent, punishing the perpetrators of, that fearful tragedy at Sinope. In September 1853, the sultan, after having evinced the most laudable forbearance, declared war against Russia. This declaration was followed by some splendid victories gained by the Turks, such as that of Oltenitza—victories which at once established their warlike reputation, and satisfied all Europe that this sultan and his Ottoman sub-

jects were very different people from what they had been supposed to be; that they were not only further advanced in civilization, but that, whatever their creed, they acted more like Christians than many Christians themselves, and fought as bravely as any nation under the sun: but they lacked numerical force—they lacked means to sustain a war, whereas their enemy possessed overwhelming numbers, and was in every respect better fitted to take the field. It was not likely, however, that two such great and sympathizing nations as England and France would look on without interfering. War was a painful alternative to either power, and which they would have made any reasonable sacrifice to avoid. Future history will record how well they acted the part of mediators, till all means and all hopes were frustrated by the ambition of Russia. Then, and not till then, the ultimatum of war has been resorted to; the flags of France and England wave side by side in the Baltic and the Black Seas; our seamen fraternize upon the deep, our soldiers upon the shores of Turkey; and the Turks themselves, casting aside that mistaken fanaticism which has too long placed its barrier between them and ourselves, welcome us as brothers and deliverers. Had Greece remained neutral, it would have worked well for her future prosperity. At present she is uprooting the very foundations of her existence.

The following circular speaks plainly as to what she may expect if she persist in her blind infatuation, while it demonstrates the strength of our alliance with the Turks—an alliance which, with

God's help, will result in a permanent blessing upon Great Britain, France, and Turkey.

"It has come to my knowledge that the Greeks who have invaded the frontier provinces of Turkey are exciting the Greek subjects of the sultan to revolt, by declaring that the governments of her Britannic Majesty and of France are ready to assist them in overthrowing the authority of the sultan; and that similar means have been used, with the object of creating an impression that the British and French ambassadors will afford protection to Greek subjects in Turkey, as soon as the Porte, in consequence of its diplomatic and commercial rupture with Greece, shall signify the intention of expelling them from her dominions.

"As such suppositions can only encourage false hopes, mislead the well disposed, and aggravate the evils inseparable from a state of war, I lose no time in assuring you that there is not the slightest foundation for such assertions.

"Those who for a single moment entertain such expectations, must either be extremely ignorant or extremely credulous. They can only rest their expectations upon ideas inconsistent alike with common sense and with facts. Unfortunately it is so everywhere, but more perhaps in a country where the means of publicity are as yet but imperfectly opened. You know as well as myself that England and France are entirely with the sultan in the noble resistance which he is opposing to a violent and unjust aggression. It follows necessarily that the two allied governments must regard with indignation

and reprobation a movement which tends only to the advantage of Russia, without possessing the merit of being spontaneous, which may in its progress embarrass the Porte and her allies, and which offers no other prospect than evil to those who are exposing their lives for a mere illusion.

“ We cannot but feel pity for the innocent families who are drawn into the consequences of a violent and unprincipled policy ; but there cannot be on our part any relation with the ringleaders, nor any dissimulation as to the sentiments which the conduct of a foolish party has inspired. I have therefore to beg you not to omit any convenient opportunity to make known the contents of this circular to all who may be disposed to be misled by the false assertions to which it refers.

“ I am, sir,

“ With truth and regard, &c.,

“ STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

“ *Terapia, 21st April, 1854.*”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Sultan Mahmoud—His character—The slave-markets—Female slaves—Discountenanced by the sultan—Beauty of the slaves—Their treatment—French proverb—Secrecy of the harem—Mahmoud's decree—Greek renegadoes—The Mutzellims—The sultan's conduct—The Greeks—Change in Mahmoud's character—Turkish customs—Use of chairs and tables—The Turkish army—Want of discipline—The officers—Mahmoud's reforms—Turkish prejudices—Their indolence—Turkish gazette—The press—The "Tatler of Events"—Its popularity—Turkish curiosity—Supposed designs of the English—The British lion in his den—Portraits and portrait-painters—School of surgery—Lunatic asylums—Reforms projected.

THE old adage, that "when things come to the worst they usually mend," has been aptly illustrated in the pages of the history of the Turkish sultans. Most assuredly crime and intolerance had reached a climax perhaps unrivalled in any other history; and it was full time that the curtain should fall upon that stage of degraded barbarism where the most appalling crimes had through centuries been perpetrated without any efforts to curb or remedy the evil. At last however in the reign of Mahmoud, the father of the present sultan, civilization began to dawn upon the vast empire under the sway of the Ottoman sultan, and the first person influenced by


the light seems to have been the sultan himself. He commenced his reign deeply imbued with that spirit of intolerance and cruelty which was so characteristic of his ancestors: he ended it a reformed man himself, and the reformer of others. A ruthless unsparing cruelty was the most prominent feature of Mahmoud's character when he first came to the throne: towards the end he gave ample proofs of a humane and kindly disposition. In the first instance, soon after his accession to the supreme power in Turkey, Mahmoud advocated and supported slavery; his harem and the harems of his courtiers were supplied with captive beauties almost weekly from the slave markets; and, after sensuality had been surfeited, these unhappy victims were sold and resold till they finally settled down in the families of the poorer, but in many instances more considerate masters, whom they found among the artisans and labouring classes of Turkey. During this interval they had rapidly undergone every change, from extreme opulence and the enjoyment of every luxury, down to hard slavery and barely a sufficiency for sustaining and supporting nature. Yet in this their last estate they were frequently happier than at first starting; because all the finer feelings of delicacy had been brutally insulted and blunted, all thoughts of home and affection had been supplanted by a dread and fear incomparably terrible, as the light of each day brought fresh uncertainty as to the fate that awaited the captive, or the ruffian into whose hands she, the courted and waited-on queen of the harem yesterday, might this day fall, and falling, be subjected to

every pang that could be inflicted by new insult and injury, and by the tearing open of freshly-healed wounds. This was the state of slavery when Mahmoud first came to the throne, and he gloried in promoting the sufferings of these unhappy sufferers: but age and surfeit displaced the fancy; and the patronizer of slave-markets found the day arrive when he could find it in his heart to pity the victims of a ruthless and inhuman system; though, further than directly discountenancing the practice himself, he had small power to enforce compassion upon the spirit of his ruthless people. But princely example, even among demi-savages, is conducive to beneficial results. Slave-hunters and slave-owners found it hardly answer their purpose to bring such multitudes as they formerly brought to the slave-markets. The number of captives was reduced, but their price was greatly augmented; and none but the most beautiful and perfect in feature and make were paraded for sale. To some small extent this benefited the slave. It secured for her the certainty of not changing masters so often as before, and of always commanding a position under the service of her lord which would enable her to be free from want and misery and hard labour: in all probability her lot would be cast in luxuriance and sloth, and if fortunately the mother of a son, then was she for life established as one of the queens of the harem. The exorbitant prices asked and given for slaves placed this horrid traffic beyond the reach of all but the immensely opulent; and the purchasers, remembering the wealth laid out in the article, became less

willing in any fit of passion to sack their victims, and deposit them in the waters of the Bosphorus. Purchasers were rare at valuation prices; and it had grown up a shame and a crying sin amongst the wealthier Turks to dispose of any slaves who had been inmates of their houses for six months in a year, unless indeed under very peculiar circumstances. Apropos of this, I may remark what advocates the Turks are for the observance of that not very elegant, yet most sage French proverb—" *Les linges sales doivent être lavés en famille.*" ("Soiled linen should always be washed at home.") On no occasion, where they can by any possible means prevent it, will they allow a single in-door transaction, in family matters, to be ever so secretly communicated, even to the most bosom friends. They have a horror and a detestation of scandal-mongers. Tattling old women exist in Turkey, as elsewhere; but their tales and fabrications are limited to the walls of the harem. Brothers husbands and fathers never hear what secrets their wives have become the repository of, and if they attempted to broach them they would be speedily and severely checked. Hence any peccadilloes or even palpable offences among the women are speedily hushed up. Good thick walls and cow-hide corbaches are a terrible but effectual check; and if any fair frail one does make a *faux pas*, few even of the neighbours have any inkling of the disgraceful fact. Formerly these offenders were quietly and expeditiously put out of the way, without even the slightest suspicion of the other inmates of the harem. A fine dark night—a

splash in the waters—a ripple or so—and a Turk had disposed of his difficulties. To a certain extent, I fear, this practice is still carried on; and isolated instances will yet be recorded till such time as proper censuses of the towns and villages have been enforced, and those indispensable checks to crime—coroner's inquests—shall be introduced. But to return to the immediate subject of this chapter—the reforms planned and propagated by Mahmoud—he set his face against slavery, and endeavoured to induce his people to do the same; for in the year 1830 he issued a decree, which at the time promised to be productive of very beneficial results to the Christian and ryah subjects of the sultan. It was to the purport that the Greeks, who were then bondmen—captives taken during the Greek revolution, and who were exposed to every hardship that serfdom could impose—should be restored to liberty, and be supplied with money to enable them to return home. The only exception to this rule was the class of Greek renegadoes, who to save their heads had, during the height of the revolution, embraced Mahometanism; these men had no hope of home and liberty held out to them—at least, liberty of conscience:—they had made a choice, so the Turks said, of the faith of the true believers of the Prophet, and true believers they must remain to the end of the chapter; worshippers in the same mosques, citizens of the same city, and subjects of the same sovereign as had vanquished and led them into captivity. Many of these renegades afterwards found time and opportunity to return to their

own country and their mother church; but these durst not again set foot on Moslem shore until entire tolerance had not only been introduced, but firmly established. Some few, who have risked it, have paid dearly for their rashness, being hunted down by the bloodhounds of superstitious fanaticism and almost invariably brought to a violent death, either openly or in secret. By far the greater number of renegades, however, remained under Turkish sway; easily adapting themselves to their new faith, which in many things pandered to their naturally depraved tastes, especially at a time when the precepts of the Koran commenced to be openly set at nought by the Turks themselves, as regards the indulgence in wines and strong drinks. Intermarrying with the Turks, some of these men have risen to the highest positions under the Turkish government, being pashas, and in many instances mutzellims, or deputy-governors; of these latter I have encountered many, both in my official and private capacity, having had often intercourse with them; and the inference I drew was, that they were by far the most subtle rogues and desperate rascals I was ever brought into contact with; possessing the apparent refinement and airs and manners of a courtly Stambouliau gentleman, while every action and word was imbued with that falsehood and treachery which is so characteristic of the subjects of King Otho—that nation of pirates, who are again commencing to swarm upon the waters of the Mediterranean, aggravating, as much as in their power lies, the horrors and the sufferings of war. Mahmoud would have done better for the welfare of his



own empire, if he had expelled these renegades, with their more honourable brethren of the Greek faith, when he granted the latter liberty and money to return home; in lieu of nurturing them like so many venomous serpents, only waiting for time and opportunity to turn round and mortally sting their benefactors.

When Mahmoud first came to the throne, he invariably confiscated the effects of all those who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure; and the implacable hatred which he displayed towards the Greek revolutionists was unrestrained by reason or principle. No sooner, however, had these troubles been hushed up, and the troubled waters of warfare calmed, than the sultan appears to have laid aside his malignant thirst for vengeance; rigidly and most honourably he adhered to all the stipulations in the articles of treaty then signed and concluded, and he never once was accused of displaying any lingering ill-will or animosity towards the Greeks; never, under any plea, persecuting such as remained within the grasp of his power, or anyways indulging in malice towards them. They were as much favoured after their independence as they had been before it. Pending the duration of the troubles, and before the European allies had brought about the independence of Greece, these miserable people were in a state of wretched alarm and depression; so soon as that treaty was concluded they became the same noisy, active, gay, but thievish set as ever. "*There was,*" says a traveller speaking of this occasion, "*a careless confidence about them as if they felt a perfect assurance of protection; and, in*

many instances, they seemed to beard the Turks, and stand upon the right of taking the wall of them in the streets." But perhaps the most remarkable incident connected with the history of Mahmoud the Reformer, was the fact of his not only introducing, or endeavouring to introduce, public ameliorations in the state of civilization and laws; but, at an advanced age in life, when long habit and custom have become second nature, and when vices are usually so deeply-rooted as to set all efforts to eradicate them at defiance, even then, with one mighty and sudden effort he threw all these aside, and in many things assumed a new nature—adopted a new method of living and thinking—and all this when the meridian of manhood was passed. This fact alone proves the reformer to have been a man possessed of no common and ordinary mind.


There is little doubt that it required a gigantic effort on the part of Mahmoud to throw off his former habits of vice. Indulgences of every description had heretofore been his wont, and in customs and habits he rivalled the most bigoted of the old school of Turks. Suddenly this fanatic became metamorphosed into a perfect sample of tolerance; from being a Frank hater he became a Frank apier in every respect; so much so that he imitated to perfection the ruling vices of Europeans, became an habitual toper, and is supposed to have closed his career from an excess in tippling which brought on a fit of *delirium tremens*; but this was almost the solitary vice of his last days, and this is saying a great deal for one of the sultans of

Turkey when we remember the antecedents of their history. Mahmoud was said to be temperate in his food: this was true as far as often eating is concerned, for he had only two meals a day, one at noon, the other at sunset; but those who are not well acquainted with the habits of Orientals, and who have not mingled with them familiarly, seem to imagine that herein he differed materially from the rest of the people, and set them a praiseworthy example. The truth however is, that not the greatest gourmand amongst the Turks and Syrians ever, even on festive occasions, has more than two meals *per diem*, if we except only labourers and men who have occupations which require much bodily strength. The ordinary run of Turks and Orientals partake of their coffee and pipe on rising, renewing these at intervals till close upon noon; a substantial repast satisfying their cravings till sunset, when a second edition of the morning's pillauf satiates them for the day; by nine P.M. the whole city is hushed in silence, and almost every man asleep: hence it is an absurd and mistaken notion to suppose that Mahmoud was a moderate eater because he had only two meals a day. The chances are, that at each of these meals he had at least fifty courses; and if he only partook slightly of each dish, he must have eaten to repletion by the time his repast was over. He did one thing, however, which was laudable, and which set an example that might be imitated more than it is by his people, even at the present day, though it must be acknowledged

that upon this head they have made very great progress. I allude to his introducing cleanliness and comfort with meals. He set his people the example of using chairs and tables; he sat like a civilized being, though in solitary grandeur, at his daily meals, at a table covered with a magnificent damask cloth, spread with plate, and covered with *bijouterie*. His plates and dishes were of costly silver—his spoons still more costly gold—and he used knives and forks, forbearing those royal fingers which he had heretofore been accustomed to dip into his greasy pillauks. There is no doubt that Mahmoud fared as sumptuously as his ancestors; but he surpassed them in cleanliness and comfort. Champagne was his favourite beverage at meals; and as he could well afford it he had oceans of it, till his royalty got quite jolly over his cups, and then retired to his harem. We are told that all his dishes were served up sealed, so that no curious or traitorous servant had a chance of dipping into the royal food before the sultan himself had broken the seals and served himself. Mahmoud endeavoured to reform the Turkish army, or rather to raise an entirely new force upon European principles and discipline. The janissaries had been disposed of, and in their place there arose that soldiery to whose very existence these ruffians had objected. The Nizan djedeed were drilled and costumed like a bad caricature of European soldiers; the officers commenced their new career in very creditable coats, surtouts, shell-jackets, and trousers; and many of them indulged in Wellington boots.

As the discipline about costume was rather lax, the inconvenience occasioned by this sudden change was by many considered a violation of their feelings, faith, and position: gradually, however, the uniformity of dress began to be disregarded; officers appeared at drill with ankle-jacks down at the heels; some sported half a boot and a slipper, while the more hardy resorted to their long-accustomed red slippers: the consequence was that, as these innovations passed unrebuked, the abuses increased. Soldiers in not very cleanly rags intended for shirts, with their jackets slung over their backs because the weather was hot, went through their evolutions with the utmost carelessness and confusion, laughing, talking, and disputing loudly about the errors of the drill, and calling into question the superiority or knowledge of the drill-sergeants, who, if truth be known, were in many instances as incapacitated as the men they drilled. The new army of Turkey was indeed a deplorable sight; its ranks containing a heterogeneous mass of men of all ages and sizes, few amongst whom could lay any claim to the knowledge or the courage of a soldier. The officers were, as many of them remain to this day, the most inefficient men of the lot, lacking in courage in energy and skill; a cowardly, cruel, debauched set of ruffians, addicted to every vicious propensity, and perfect tyrants over the soldiery under their command, who had mostly been ruthlessly torn away from home and friends, forced into abject serfdom, with no definite pro-

spect of release from or amelioration in their condition; ill-clothed and worse fed, often beaten and seldom paid; and after a few years' endurance of every hardship, become utterly callous to every better feeling of humanity, and sunk rapidly into brutal and ferocious freebooters, plundering the peasantry of the countries they marched through, and invariably marking their path with a track of desolation and woe. Such was the soldiery that composed the new army founded by Mahmoud. They have now made much progress in many ways, but there is still vast room for improvement. To Mahmoud, however, are due the resolution and firmness of purpose which, in the face of the fanatical opposition of a whole nation, introduced and firmly laid the foundation-stone of reform in the Ottoman army. At the risk almost of his throne, and unsupported by his courtiers, he insisted on the long loose clumsy trousers of the Turks being relinquished, and in lieu of rushing about in undisciplined masses, they were compelled to fall in in rank and file, and march, as nearly as they could attain, after the manner of disciplined soldiers. These two objects being once attained, their progress towards amelioration was greatly facilitated; they began, in the course of years, to feel themselves more at home in what at first appeared to them like strait-waistcoats, or being put in the stocks. The handling of the musket and sword became more familiar; and what Mahmoud commenced has been vastly improved upon by Hungarian and other refugees who have taken service in the present sultan's



service, and who, had their authority been admitted, would have perfected his army. Unfortunately they have been subservient to the sway of inferior Turkish officers, whose greatest antipathy was frequent drillings and parades; and who, on any hint being thrown out by efficient Hungarian officers as to the absolute necessity of continual practice to make a perfect soldier, have clearly informed these advocates of military reform, that if they wished to retain the salary of the sultan, and enjoy a position, they must do as they did—leave the soldiers to drill each other once a month, hold a parade once a twelvemonth, stop at home and make keif, call at stated periods upon the government sheoff for their monthly stipend, and be thankful to Allah that their lot had been cast in a country where ease and comfort were to be enjoyed without wading through that fatigue, early rising and exertion, which must needs be entailed by drillings and parades; these were the hints thrown out by Turkish colonels to suggestions made by Hungarian officers. They told them moreover, that if they persisted in urging their reforms, means would be found of removing them from the service; and as the refugees could not afford to lose their pay, they were compelled, at the risk of their daily bread, to remain silent though discontented spectators of the inefficiency of the several corps they belonged to. *Tout cela est changé.* The example of their allies will shame the soldiery into a sense of their utter inefficiency, and inspire them with a laudable wish to rival their European brethren in arms, in discipline and appearance. The old free and easy

system of the Turkish officers will hardly keep pace with or be tolerated by the soldiers ; and they will find it expedient either to thoroughly arouse themselves from the lethargy which has bound them for years, or to make room for better and braver men, of whatever nation or creed these may chance to be. They who cannot fight must dig or do something to contribute to the wants of the Turkish empire ; their day of senseless profligacy and slothfulness has now fled for ever, and the day-dream of Mahmoud the Reformer is about to be realized. A year hence, if his ghost come forth from the grave, it may gaze upon an army in many, if not in all respects, as efficient as the army of any other European nation. But we are not going to become prophetic towards the close of our historical sketch ; we shall leave the future to that multitude of dreamers of dreams, and those sage prophets, whose name at present appears to be *Legion*, and whose cant and twaddle peep at us through such startling titles in every shop-window, in every street and alley. We revert to Mahmoud and his reforms ; and awarding to his memory the praise due for the first great efforts made to reorganize the Turkish army, we turn to his next move—a step in the march of intellect—and this was, the establishment of a Gazette at Constantinople under the editorship of one M. Blague, assisted by an historian and poet of the empire. There can be no greater sign of the advancement of civilization in a state, than the wish of its government to give as much publicity as possible to its acts, the condition of the nation and